1909

# SIR JOHN LOGIN AND DULEEP SINGH

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

COLONEL G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I.

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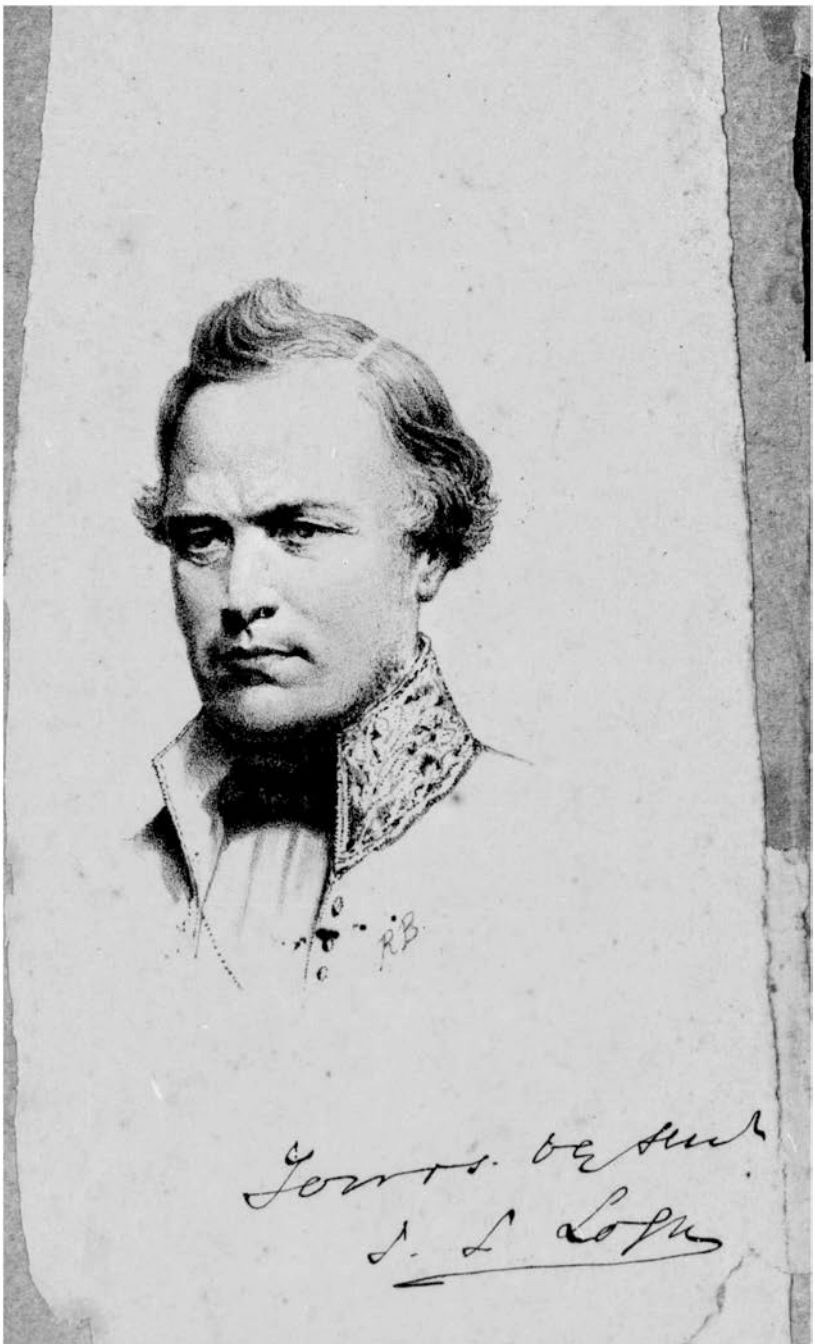
RB

TO THE MEMORY

OF THAT ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMAN, THE

RIGHT HONORABLE JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.,

WHOSE LOVE OF JUSTICE

AND WHOSE CLOSE PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP

WITH

SIR JOHN LOGIN

CAUSED HIM TO TAKE A SINCERE INTEREST

IN THE OBJECT OF THIS WORK,

AND WHO WAS ONLY PREVENTED BY HIS OWN MORTAL ILLNESS

FROM ADDING TO IT (AS HE HAD INTENDED)

HIS TRIBUTE

TO THE MEMORY OF HIS FRIEND,—

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK.

# PREFACE.

It is probable I should never have been induced to take up the subject of this volume but for the fact that the interest taken by my late husband in his ward invested it with an interest which has assumed greater proportions in consequence of the recent action of the Maharajah. For many years the Maharajah lived in our house; he spontaneously adopted Christianity under our roof; and he developed many instincts alike generous and calculated to inspire regard. I have always taken the deepest interest in him; and no one has been more grieved than I have been at the line of conduct he has lately so heedlessly adopted. Still, condemning that conduct as thoroughly as anyone, feeling that the world regards it as a base return for great kindness, I am anxious that that world should know that there is not only something, but a great deal, to be said on the other side. What that is I have told in these pages. They contain the story of the first connection of the Maharajah with the British to the present day. It is only just that, however the public may condemn the recent foolish utterances of

the Maharajah, they should know that his outbursts are not the offspring of a mere freak, that he has real wrongs, and that his nature, always quick and sensitive, has been goaded into action, which, in his calmer moments, he would be glad to disavow. The carrying out of this task has been rendered the more genial to me, in that it has enabled me to show the world what manner of man he was to whom the Government of India entrusted the earlier training of the young Prince. There have been men in India whose services have come more before the public, but I am confident I shall be borne out by those who knew my husband when I state that a truer man, one more imbued with sense of duty, and more fearless in the performance of it, never served the East India Company than John Spencer Login.

LENA LOGIN.

GRACEDIEU, WATERINGBURY, KENT,
*July 4th*, 1889.

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# INTRODUCTION.

BY COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

A FEW lines which I wrote on the subject of Duleep Singh in the *Asiatic Quarterly* about a year ago procured for me the pleasure of an acquaintance with Lady Login, whom I found to be even more interested than myself in the conduct and treatment of one who had been her husband's ward in the tenderest and most impressionable years of his life. I soon found that whilst Lady Login regretted equally with myself the wayward conduct of the Maharajah since he quitted England, we both agreed that there were many circumstances in his history, a knowledge of which would induce a public which judged only from facts within its ken to take a more lenient, or, at all events, a less prejudiced view of conduct which, without such explanation, would appear wholly unjustifiable. No living being was so thoroughly acquainted with all the circumstances attending the Maharajah's youth, early training, development into manhood, and subsequent career as Lady Login; nor could any one tell as accurately the history of those monetary relations towards the Government which have influenced so unfortunately the later actions of the Maharajah. I respectfully urged, then, upon Lady Login the advisability, in the interests of the Maharajah, in the interests of truth and justice, of writing from the stores of documents in her possession a connected history of the Maharajah's life, from the date of the

connection with him of the late Sir John Login to the time of the cessation of that connection. The story might, I ventured to suggest, form one of the main features of the life of one of the noblest servants of the late East India Company—Sir John Login himself.

The idea commended itself to Lady Login, and she at once acted upon it. The result is contained in this volume. How admirably Lady Login has performed the self-allotted task the public, I am confident, will unhesitatingly admit. The great merit of the narrative is that it tells "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." Lady Login has kept back nothing that she was able to tell. The result is a valuable contribution to contemporary history, and, what is of not less importance, a complete revelation of the causes which have influenced Duleep Singh in his hostility towards the British Government.

I have myself always held that the treatment dealt out to Duleep Singh after the close of the second Sikh war was alike impolitic and unjust. When that war broke out Duleep Singh was the ward of the British Government. He was a child of nine years old, and took no part whatever in the administration of the country of which the British Government had recognized him to be the Sovereign, but of which the English Resident and a council of native nobles were the actual rulers. The revolt of Moolraj, and the outbreak of Sikh chieftains in the Hazarah which followed that revolt, were directed against the actual Government of Lahore, which, as I have said, was presided over by an English Resident, and which ruled in the

name of Duleep Singh. Yet, when those risings were suppressed on the field of Gujerat, the British Government, then absolute master of the situation, visited the sins of Moolraj and the Hazarah chiefs on their innocent ward, deprived him of his kingdom, and, he has always asserted—though this would seem to be denied—of the estates which his father had accumulated, and consigned him to the care of Doctor—afterwards Sir John—Login.

To a truer-hearted, more conscientious, or better man it would have been impossible to consign him. How thoroughly and how well Sir John, aided in every particular by Lady Login, performed his duty towards the young Prince is admirably told in these pages. The reader who may take up the book for information on this point will, I am confident, not lightly lay it down. Upon this part of the history I do not propose to dwell in this Introduction. There can be no doubt—indeed, I had it from the Maharajah's own lips in 1871—that throughout this period, and at the date also of his speaking to me on the subject, he was thoroughly happy. I propose, rather, to ask the attention of the reader to the circumstances related in the fifteenth chapter—circumstances which explain the sudden migration from happiness to discontent, from discontent to despair, from despair to acts bordering on insanity.

It would seem that the Maharajah was a man of a trustful, generous, and open disposition. Further, that he did not care to bother himself with details, and that he hated business matters. So long as Sir John Login lived he was happy. Though often urged to effect a settlement, or rather to insist that the India

Office should make a definite settlement with him, he always put it off. He was content to have Sir John between him and the India Office. After Sir John's death, Colonel Oliphant, whom he appointed equerry and controller of his household, soon gained an ascendancy which produced similar feelings of trust. He was then living at Elveden, where he had the best shooting in England; and when I stayed with him there in 1871, he told me he was the happiest man in the world. When I next saw him, about ten years ago, he told me he was the most miserable. His words were to the effect that subsequently to Colonel Oliphant's death he had discovered that he had been cheated out of his kingdom, and out of the private estates which his father had possessed, and that he could get no settlement from the India Office; that he had still hopes that he might ultimately succeed, but that the treatment he had received had well-nigh broken his heart. He complained bitterly that no provision had been made for his family. When at Elveden, he said, he was in constant hopes that he might receive an English title, and with that title such a sum attached to it inalienably as might make him forget that he had ever sat on the footsteps of a throne; which hope, he added, was growing dimmer and dimmer, till it was well-nigh extinguished. He told me this one evening, the only evening that I dined with him, at the Garrick Club, of which he was a member. The time, to the best of my recollection, was 1879-80.

The whole story is told, fairly and impartially told,

in the fifteenth chapter. The evil, as Lady Login tells us, dates from the time of the annexation of the Punjab. No settlement, properly so called, was then made. But, when Duleep Singh attained his majority, Sir John Login pressed upon Sir Charles Wood the necessity of coming to a settlement on the terms of the Treaty, and suggested Sir John Lawrence as the most suitable person to draw up the agreement. Sir Charles Wood, after some delay, assented; and Sir John Lawrence agreed to act in the matter on condition that Sir Frederick Currie should be associated with him. This was conceded. The two men met and drew up a report. This report, however, was objected to in Council, and was never acted upon. The outcome was that somewhat later Sir Charles Wood offered "improved" terms to Duleep Singh. The Maharajah accepted these terms, with the reservation of his rights, as the head of the family, of being allowed to have a voice in the apportioning of the fund known as the "Five Lakh Fund," and to inspect the accounts. He further claimed the repayment of his losses in the Mutiny. This was the last transaction. It occurred just before Sir John Login's death.

It is to be regretted that the Indian Council set aside the settlement proposed by Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie. These men had been on the spot; they knew all the circumstances of his case; and if their recommendations had been attended to, Duleep Singh would still be a loyal subject of the Queen, and the "perfect happiness" of 1871 would never have been impaired. But not

only was the recommendation not acted upon, but no permanent settlement was ever arrived at. The relations between the Maharajah and the India Office can be best described as having been from first to last hand-to-mouth relations.

As a specimen of what these have occasionally been, I quote from the last page of this book:—"The Government," writes Lady Login, "has never accounted to the Maharajah for the money received for the sale of the house, nor has he received anything in respect of the value of the land, though the papers show that the whole was purchased out of his money; nor any compensation in respect of the contents of the house which were destroyed at the Mutiny." Lady Login proceeds to show that during thirty years differences arose which would have instantly disappeared if the recommendations to which I have referred had been adopted. Since then officials have arisen who had had no part in the original treaty—who knew nothing of Duleep Singh as the recognized ruler of a powerful state—who know him only as a deposed prince, asking, as they consider it, for alms.

The Maharajah, doubtless, has many faults; and his more recent conduct requires the exercise of a large amount of charity. But there are few who will rise from the perusal of Lady Login's book without admitting that he has suffered great wrongs, and without asking whether it is yet too late, by a generous concession, to bring back the lost sheep to the fold he quitted in despair.

G. B. MALLESON.

*July 12th*, 1889.

# SIR JOHN LOGIN AND DULEEP SINGH.

## CHAPTER I.

### EARLY DAYS.



How often in the history of the British Empire in India, has the unexpected offer of a cadetship or commission in the H.E.I.C. Service been the means, under Divine Providence, of opening a career to some young and eager spirit whose lot might otherwise have been cast in a less eventful path of life!

In no case has this been more singularly exemplified than in that of the young Orkneyman who, in the summer of 1831, had just taken his degree of M.D. in the University of Edinburgh, and whose early associations and ideas were all so connected with the sea and its interests, that his highest ambition then was to be able to combine his present profession with his

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desire for a life of adventure, by entering the Royal Navy as surgeon.

It is just this innate yearning for a wider field of action than the narrower life at home can give, that has impelled the sons of Scotland forth into all quarters of the globe as the pioneers of civilization, and engendered in them that adventurous spirit which creates the successful colonist, or the brilliant soldier of fortune.

Such names as Livingstone, Clyde, and Gordon, are enough to testify that in these later times the race has not lost that chivalry and love of adventure which have ever been its characteristics; and if this be true of the descendants of the Celts and Anglo-Saxon-Danes who people the mainland of Scotland, is it wonderful that the dwellers in those isolated groups—known to the Romans as "Ultima Thule," that mythical land "bordering the unknown," and to us as the Orkney and Shetland Archipelago—should feel inspired with the spirit of their Norse ancestors, and burn to see and conquer other lands?

Though these islands form now an integral part of the United Kingdom, and are politically considered one of the shires of Scotland, their incorporation is, comparatively speaking, only of recent date, and their inhabitants are totally distinct in customs and origin from the rest of their fellow-subjects.

In the commencement of the eighth century, sea-rovers, or Northmen, from Scandinavia descended on

the Orkney and Shetland Isles, and extirpating whatever race they found already in possession, colonized the archipelago. From this central point of vantage, sheltered in its vöes and fiords, their fleets of war-ships harried the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and pushed their enterprise down and around the shores of the continent of Europe into the Mediterranean Sea, even up to the walls of Constantinople.

The Orkneys, therefore, were under the sway of the Kings of Norway, and for centuries continued to be so. Indeed, it was not until the year 1468 that King Christian I. of Denmark mortgaged his rights in these islands to James III. of Scotland, as part-payment of his daughter's dowry—the right to redeem them being retained to this very day by the Danish Crown; and down to modern times their laws and internal regulations have remained peculiar to themselves, and based on the old Norse customs and charters, the Norse language itself, still preserved in local names and expressions, becoming extinct only within the last century.

Thus, lineally descended from the old Vikings, the Orcadians are essentially men of the sea; for, roads being few, the shortest distances must be done by water; and he is of little count among them who can neither handle an oar, nor sail a boat skilfully, amid the currents, whirlpools, and skerries which render these regions so dangerous to mariners. Lying, as these islands do, where the opposing forces of two

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oceans meet—their shores washed by the failing waters of the Gulf Stream, along whose borders storm and fog continually hover, while the Atlantic billows unceasingly thunder against the giant cliffs of Hoy—their natives must indeed be a hardy race to battle successfully with the terrors of such a coast; and, in fact, as seamen they are unsurpassed for boldness and enterprise.

Here, then, was the birthplace of John Spencer Login. He was born in Stromness, on the mainland of Orkney, on November 9th, 1809.

The name of Login is peculiar to this one family in Orkney, and is believed to be of Norse origin.*

The following particulars of John Login's early days are furnished by his brother, the Rev. William S. Login :—

On both father's and mother's side he sprang from a class of small proprietors peculiar to Orkney. Small though their holdings be, they tenaciously cling to them, and pride themselves on keeping them intact and handing them on to their sons. Many of them, therefore, can trace their connection with their lands for hundreds of years.

Our grandfather was in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, and his son (our father, John Login) was, when a young man, in the merchant navy, but left the sea and settled on his patrimony, or holding, in his native place, Stromness. Here he became a

* There are many "Logies" throughout the islands whose ancestors came over originally from Buchan, in Aberdeenshire, as retainers of Earl Patrick Stewart, towards the end of the sixteenth century.

ship-owner and agent, and married Margaret Spence, who came of an old Orkney family on the west mainland, the head of the house being Spence, of Kirbuster, in the parish of Birsay. Chapter I. 1809-39.

Our maternal grandfather commanded a merchantman trading to the West Indies from London. He married an "Orkney lass" named Groundwater—by the way, a great beauty!—a daughter of Edward Groundwater, of Groundwater, in the parish of Orphir. They had a large family, all of whom were born in London, our mother being one of the youngest. When he left the sea, he retired to Orkney, and there ended his days.

Soon after our father's death a great change came over our circumstances. Several vessels, of which he had been part owner, were wrecked, and as none of them had been insured (insurance was not so common in those days) our means were consequently greatly reduced; but our mother, who was a woman of remarkable energy and courage, struggled bravely on under great difficulties, winning the respect and admiration of all who came in contact with her. Wherever her name was known (and that was widely) it seemed to make way for us, her children. She had business correspondents in all the principal towns on the east coast of Scotland, and as far as Newcastle; and in all of them we found friends to welcome us for her sake. Though she has been in her grave for nearly fifty years, her memory is still green in Stromness. Her trust in her eldest son John was certainly not misplaced. Never did son or brother take upon him in early youth such heavy responsibilities with greater conscientiousness.

We have all great reason to thank God for such a mother; it is only in after life that we can realize and appreciate all the efforts and sacrifices she made on our behalf.

Stromness was at that time a place largely resorted to by merchant ships trading to all parts of the world. The Hudson Bay Company's ships and the whale-fishing fleet called there regularly, both coming and going; and ships on long voyages to Australia,

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the West Indies, or America, called there also for some of their supplies. It was a very usual refuge for vessels disabled by the storms of the North Sea, and it was a common practice for Russian and Swedish ships that found themselves too late to enter the Baltic, to winter in the harbour of Stromness.

Our house became the resort, consequently, of ship captains and passengers going to and fro; and, young though I was, I still retain a very pleasing recollection of the friendships we then formed. On John, who was ten years my senior, the effect of seeing men of that class and hearing their stories of the sea, was very great. His youthful enthusiasm was kindled, and he was seized with an intense desire to become a sailor.

Both our father and our mother were decidedly opposed to this idea, and did all they could to dissuade him from his purpose. They, in the first instance, sent him from home to school at Kirkwall, to keep him, as they believed, away from ships and boats; but even there he was more frequently found about the harbour and pier than any other part of the town, and he was such a favourite with the seamen in the harbour that he found it easy to indulge his passion, spending hours at sea alone in the roughest weather, handling a sailing boat with the greatest dexterity, or spending his nights at sea with the fishermen.

As a compromise he was sent to Edinburgh, though yet a mere boy—certainly not more than fifteen—to study medicine at the University, with a view to become a surgeon in the Royal Navy. He was too young to take full advantage of the classes he had to attend in matriculating, and I believe his first year of attendance was spent more in the study of naval history than of any other branch of learning!

He awoke at length to the importance of his medical studies, and his undoubted talents attracted the notice of the Professors. After studying for three summer and three winter sessions under Professor Syme, who showed him much kindness, and at the Royal Infirmary as Surgeon-Dresser under Doctors Adam

Hunter and John Campbell, he received his Diploma as Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, June, 1828, when only nineteen years of age. Chapter I. 1809-39.

In March, 1829 he was appointed House-Surgeon in the Royal Infirmary, the Visiting Surgeons being Liston and Lizars, with whom he was brought much in contact. In the winter of 1829-30 he was appointed permanent Physician-Clerk to the Royal Infirmary, with charge of the medical wards under Doctors James Gregory and Shortt and Professor Christison. The degree of M.D. he obtained in 1831, having to wait till he reached the prescribed age of twenty-one years.

While pursuing his studies, he was only at home for eight or ten weeks in the autumn. It was during these brief intervals alone that I had an opportunity of seeing him. I remember how he busied himself in improving the streets of our town; there were no rates available for the purpose, so he went about collecting subscriptions, and spent the money according to his own judgment in making alterations and improvements where they were most needed. He hired labourers to carry out his ideas; and not content with merely directing, when the pinch came, often lent a hand himself.

A few weeks before he left home for the last time a terrific storm broke over the North of Scotland, and was felt in its greatest violence in Orkney. Our harbour was full of ships, a number of them were driven from their moorings, and the havoc among the boats and jetties was terrible. There were no lives lost; but the destruction of property was considerable, and but for the skill and energy displayed by John on this occasion, the losses would have been much greater. He roused all the pilots and boatmen, and compelled them to follow his leadership in defending the piers and jetties against the ships that were driven against them; he had such a masterful way with him that he carried all before him!

It was immediately after obtaining his degree of

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M.D. that a career in India was suddenly opened up to John Login, altering all his previous plans of life.

Dr. Shortt was asked to recommend a young surgeon to take charge of the case of Lord Chief Commissioner Adam, who was then suffering from dangerous complications, necessitating close and skilful supervision. He at once advised that young Login should be asked to undertake the case, and for this purpose take up his residence at Blair-Adam.

The proposal was accepted, and the results of his care and skill proved so eminently successful, that in a short time the Lord Chief Commissioner was most effectually relieved of his complaint.

To show in some gratifying form his appreciation of the valuable professional services rendered to him, the Lord Chief asked and obtained from Mr. Loch (his son-in-law, one of the directors of the H.E.I.C.) a commission as assistant-surgeon for young Login, advising him to select the Presidency of Bengal, as he could supply him with good introductions to influential friends there.

In those days India was a sealed book to all who could not command personal interest at the India House, therefore this unexpected prospect was most welcome, as it opened the way to splendid possibilities in the way of travel and adventure, and of usefulness to his fellow-men, which amply compensated him for having, in deference to his parents' wishes, renounced his personal leaning to the sea.

One more visit Login paid to the old Orkney home, to take leave of all his friends before setting sail for the other side of the world, and (though he knew it not) to look for the last time in this world on the face of that mother to whom he owed so much, and from whom he inherited those qualities of indomitable energy, perseverance, and sound judgment, which were destined to stand him in such good stead in after life. Even in those early days he was remarkable for a certain persuasive power of "getting his own way," and this was amusingly illustrated on the occasion of his last visit home. Chapter I. 1809-39.

His mother had invited a large number of friends to a sort of farewell entertainment. All the bigwigs of their little community were there—doctors, lawyers, baillies, ship captains, the old parish minister and his assistant, all much impressed with the dignity incumbent on their positions, and the sedate gravity which it behoved them, as elders, to maintain on an occasion so appropriate for parting words of counsel and admonition to a young friend about to be launched in life.

Scenting some intention of the sort in the air, Login electrified the assembly by proposing that all, young and old, should join in a game of "blind-man's buff!" Spite of all protests, he carried his point; and the "guid folk" of Stromness had presented to their astonished view the unusual spectacle of all those "grave and potent seigniors" tearing about in a state

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of the wildest excitement, like school-boys broken loose!

In another letter his brother William* writes:—

> I was only twelve years old when he left home on the 4th of December, 1831, and I never saw him again. Still, the unceasing flow of his affection towards us all, which time and distance seemed not in the least to abate, kept him as fresh in our thoughts and affections as if we had never been separated. Few families have been so closely knitted together as we have been, and this was largely owing to the strong hold he had on us, and the self-denying generosity which he exerted on our behalf. Though abundantly prosperous, and flattered with friendly recognition by the highest, he never forgot the "auld hoose at hame" and its inmates. He left on my youthful mind an impression of one born to command. There was no resisting him!

On arrival at Calcutta, in July, 1832, Login found himself posted to H. M. Buffs, and in October accompanied the regiment to Dinapore. Here he learnt that the Commander-in-Chief had ordered him to be transferred to the 1st Brigade of Horse Artillery, and he was appointed to take medical charge of the 3rd Troop at Dum Dum. At this place he was stationed until December, 1833, and here, too, like many young officers in the Bengal Artillery, had cause to bless the earnest religious influences and true Christian piety which pervaded the great headquarter station, and of

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* The Rev. William S. Login, for thirty years Presbyterian minister of Sale, Gipp's Land, Australia.

which Major—afterwards General—Powney, of the Bengal Artillery, was the chief centre.* Chapter I. 1809-39.

John Spencer Login was naturally of a serious and earnest disposition; but it was at this period of his life that were chiefly laid the seeds of that deeply-rooted piety and strong faith, which were the ruling features of his character in after-life, and which so plainly governed his every word and action, though he was not one to make a parade of his religious convictions: indeed, it was this very dignity of reserve with regard to his inmost feelings that impressed those brought in contact with him.

While at Dum Dum he was selected by Government to proceed to Persia as medical officer to the detachment under Colonel Pasmore, sent to organize the army of Futteh Ali Shah, but was induced to withdraw his name in favour of another medical officer who was most anxious for the post.

The appointment of Dr. Login to the Horse Artillery at Dum Dum had been in the first instance rather a sore point with the Brigadier commanding there (Sir C. Brown, K.C.B.), he having applied for the post for a friend of his own. Login had therefore some natural prejudice to overcome on the part of his commanding officer; but in the end his zealous attention to his public duties so won the heart of the Brigadier, that when in December, 1833, he was made over by Lord

* See Kaye's "*Lives of Indian Officers*"—"*Major D'Arcy Todd.*"

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William Bentinck to the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Commandant was among the foremost in expressing the regrets of the community at losing him. A silver breakfast service was presented to him, and a farewell dinner given in his honour by the corps—rather an unusual compliment to a young assistant-surgeon.

The whole is described by him in a letter to his mother:—

What do you think of your son being honoured with a farewell dinner given by the station, and invitations sent to all my friends to meet me, in the name of the Brigadier commanding and the officers of artillery—upwards of forty at dinner, the old Brigadier in the chair, with your humble servant on his right? After the cloth was removed, the Commandant proposed my health in the most flattering terms, toast drunk with honours (aye, more than honour, for there was kindness in the manner they did it), the regimental band playing "Logie o' Buchan" (for which I am indebted to some Scotch friends who were present); and when I attempted to return thanks, I fairly broke down—it was too much for me! When I tell you that my breakfast table is now adorned with a handsome silver service, and that my old Captain (generally looked upon as a miser) sent me before leaving, a cheque for 500 rupees (£50) to help my new outfit and uniform, need I tell you that I am sorry to part with all my friends here? I am sure you will not think that I tell you this in any boastful spirit, but I cannot withhold expressing my feelings to you, besides, I know what pleasure it will give you.

I am quite an artilleryman now. Bluejacket for ever! I have been trying my hand at the great guns too, and have made one of the best shots, I assure you! Indeed on the strength of it, I

think I shall apply for a lieutenant's commission in the Nizam's artillery!



On arrival at Bolarum, Login found himself appointed to the medical charge of the 6th Regiment Nizam's Infantry, which he continued to hold at Hengolee, Ellichpore, and on active service with a brigade of troops in the Bheel Country, until December, 1835, when he saw his name in orders as Civil-Surgeon at Howrah, near Calcutta. Proceeding at once to join, he marched from the Deccan, *viâ* Nagpore and the Nerbuddah, to Mirzapore, and found on his arrival there, in January, 1836, that he had been transferred to Fort William as Garrison-Surgeon.

For these appointments he was indebted to Mr. James Ranald Martin—afterwards Sir Ranald Martin—Presidency-Surgeon, who, before Login left Calcutta, had expressed his intention of securing his services at the Presidency whenever opportunity offered. He had not held this post long, when Mr. Martin recommended him to Sir Charles—afterwards Lord—Metcalfe, as surgeon on his personal staff, when proceeding to assume the Government of the North-West Provinces. Dr. Login remained with Sir Charles in this capacity at Agra for two years, occupied to his heart's content in such work as he delighted in; for Sir Charles enabled him to set on foot a hospital or dispensary for the poor, and he was further engaged as superintendent of the Famine

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Relief Society, the work of which at that period was extremely onerous, owing to the terrible distress prevalent.

At this time he organized the Orphan Asylum at Secundra, which has expanded since into its present proportions, and proved such a boon. He here formed the lasting friendship of James Thomason, afterwards Lieut.-Governor N.W.P., which continued throughout his career. Here, also, he learnt to know Henry Havelock, Broadfoot, and Edward Sanders, of the Bengal Engineers, ever after highly valued friends of his.

This was a happy, busy time, under a Chief whom he so much loved and respected, and it was a great sorrow to him when at length, in December, 1837, Sir Charles Metcalfe left Agra to return to England, where he was appointed to the post of Governor of Jamaica. Login accompanied him to Calcutta, and, loth to say farewell, went out with him to sea, returning only with the pilot vessel.

Sir Theophilus Metcalfe (brother of Lord Metcalfe) at this period applied for him to be sent to Delhi; but as Dr. Ranken elected to return to his duties there, Login was appointed to Hooghley as Civil-Surgeon and Postmaster, being posted at the same time to his old corps—the Horse Artillery, at Dum Dum. He was, however, soon to quit this for a locality with which he was afterwards much associated, and where his name was destined to be widely known among

Europeans and natives alike, as the originator of many benevolent and charitable institutions. Chapter I. 1809-39.

Dr. Stevenson, the Residency-Surgeon, being compelled to leave Lucknow and proceed to England on sick-leave, the acting vacancy was, in April, 1838, offered to Login by Lord Auckland, whose interest had been specially requested by Sir Charles Metcalfe on his behalf. Accordingly, in May, he became Acting Residency-Surgeon at Lucknow, and was soon after appointed Postmaster-General in Oude, in addition to his other duties. It might have been thought that the work of those two appointments would be sufficient to occupy the whole of any one man's time, but such was by no means the opinion of Dr. Login, who was filled with an eager desire to do his part towards alleviating the distress he saw around him among the suffering native population.

The famine which had so terribly prevailed throughout the N.W. Provinces, had extended into Oude, and driven thousands of poor starving wretches to seek relief in the city of Lucknow. A large public subscription had been raised a little time before he arrived, at the instance of Colonel Low, the Resident, and Captain Paton; and as Login had had much experience in this work, both at Agra and as a member of the Relief Committee in Calcutta, he was asked to superintend the application of the fund at Lucknow. With characteristic energy he threw his whole soul into the work, and drew up certain proposals on the subject which

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were unanimously adopted by the Committee. An institution called the "Poor's House," or "Gharib-khana," was thereupon established, where the most destitute were received, lodged, and fed. Here they were classified according to their needs: the sick, the blind, the maimed, and the lame, being placed in different wards, while special arrangements were made for the comfort of children and families; and the public report says, "Order, cleanliness, and excellent arrangements were everywhere manifest, exhibiting a well-conducted and most useful institution." The whole was under his personal and daily supervision.

At the same time he was enabled, by the liberality of the King of Oude—Mahomed Ali Shah—also to provide food, shelter, and clothing for upwards of 500 infirm persons daily, while of those able to work, several thousands were employed on the buildings then in progress at Hoosainabad, under Azimoolah Khan, Derogah. There was, moreover, in the city of Lucknow an old native hospital and dispensary, founded by Nusseeroodeen Hyder, the preceding Sovereign of Oude, which had fallen into neglect, and this also was reorganized by Dr. Login, and rendered capable of treating 140 cases daily.

These various institutions were in full swing, and Login had settled down to a life of hard work, "such as his soul loved," with every moment occupied, when the *Gazette* announced that Dr. Stevenson (who was still drawing his official salary as Residency-Surgeon

and also as A.D.C. to the King of Oude) had been promoted to the grade of surgeon, which disqualified him from holding the appointment any longer. Chapter I. 1809-39.

On this, knowing how fully satisfied both the Resident and the Governor-General were, with the manner in which he had performed the duties of his position, Login abstained on principle from making any application for the vacancy, having a conscientious conviction that the Government ought to be the best judge of the man most qualified for any particular post. The Resident, as well as the community at large, felt certain that he would be confirmed in the appointment, and in consequence of this general belief no other medical officer applied for it. Dr. Stevenson, however, exerted all his private interest to retain his appointment in spite of his disqualification. Owing to Login's scruples, he was enabled to do so with success, and it was arranged that he should be allowed to return to his duties in January, 1839.

In the meantime, Lord Auckland, in August, 1838, offered Login the choice of a civil appointment, or to go on active service with the army of the Indus, then assembling for the invasion of Afghanistan. Login, in reply, expressed his willingness to be employed in any way in which he might be thought most useful, adding that "if appointed to the army, he hoped to be allowed to join the artillery again."

This answer so pleased the Governor-General that he himself requested Sir Henry Fane to post Dr. Login

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to one of the troops of Horse Artillery ordered on active service, and he was directed to join the army on the frontier, as soon as the return of Dr. Stevenson set him free from his duties at Lucknow. Such was his eagerness, however, for service in the field, that when he learnt, in October, that the troop of Horse Artillery to which he was posted was ordered to the frontier, and would have to be placed temporarily in medical charge of the doctor of H.M. 16th Lancers, he wrote to head-quarters offering to throw up his present well-paid appointment and proceed forthwith to join his troop. Gratified with such zeal, the Commander-in-Chief ordered that his travelling expenses should be paid to Kurnaul, where he arrived in November, 1838, and found himself placed in medical charge of *all* the Horse Artillery, with an assistant-surgeon under him.

Though his residence at Lucknow had been so short, barely six months in all, many were the expressions of regret and goodwill from all classes of the community on his departure; the subscribers to the Gharīb-khana especially recording their "unanimous admiration of his benevolent zeal and laboured assiduity in personally superintending every department of this Institution, the numerous sick among them having also received daily from Dr. Login the great benefit of his own personal medical attendance."

Colonel Low, the Resident, at the same time addressed a most complimentary letter to him, in the name of the whole European community, expressive of

their admiration for his untiring efforts for their welfare, and adding— Chapter I. 1809-39.

I have good evidence of the fact that great numbers of natives of this city have expressed, in their own circles of society, their admiration of the zeal and kind feeling displayed by you at the Hospital, and of the unwearied personal labours which you voluntarily took upon yourself during the late sickly season, in attending upon your numerous patients; while many of the Christian inhabitants have often spoken to myself in the warmest terms of the kindness which they and their families have received from you, in your medical capacity, at their own houses.

I sincerely hope that wherever Providence may cast your future lot in life, you may enjoy health and opportunities to continue the practice of similar acts of benevolence and usefulness to those which you have so conspicuously performed at Lucknow, and which will ever produce a pleasing reward, in the consciousness of possessing talents and energies actively exercised for the benefit of your fellow-creatures.

I have the honour to be,

J. Low,
*Resident.*

*The Residency,*
*Lucknow,*
*Oct.* 22nd, 1838.

It was also gratifying to Dr. Login to find that the improvements he had inaugurated in the Post Office during his short tenure of office were highly appreciated, both by the European community and by the Postmaster-General in Calcutta.

The following letter to his mother was written from

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Umballa, November, 1838, just after leaving Lucknow :—

The Commander-in-Chief was so kind as to order my *dák* to be paid, and I was directed to make all possible speed to reach Kurnaul on the 1st instant.

The King of Oude sent for me a second time to the Palace before I left; he received me most kindly, and honoured me by an embrace! (which I assure you is considered by no means a small compliment) and in other respects treated me most liberally, presenting me with a dress of honour, or *Khillut*.

He has thus put it into my power to send a small token of my gratitude to the kind Lord Chief, Miss and Mrs. Adam, and Dr. Shortt, in the form of some handsome shawls which he himself put on me; I hope to be able shortly to send you a sketch of my "dress of State," which was, I understand, much more valuable than such as is usually given.

We are on the march to Ferozepore, on the banks of the Sutlej, where the whole army is to meet to make a grand display before the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Auckland, and Runjeet Singh, preparatory to proceeding on more active service. . . . I had to walk through at least three miles of tents at Kurnaul before finding Tom Drevor, who was encamped at the other end of the lines from me. This will give you some idea of the force which is to assemble at Ferozepore, for this is only two-thirds of it! The number of fighting men, it is true, does not exceed 15,000, but of followers there are no less than 150,000!!

I must now conclude, earnestly entreating that God's abundant grace may be vouchsafed to us both. . . .

Believe me, your most affectionate son,

J. S. Login.

The bonds of friendship with Henry Lawrence (who

was there on duty with his troop of Horse Artillery) were drawn very close during that march; they shared the same tent and were constantly together, being of one mind on every matter which they discussed.

Henry Lawrence had not long been married, and had to leave his young wife behind, but she joined him at Ferozepore, and Login was much with them until the army marched for Candahar.

On leaving Ferozepore, the army of the Indus, under Sir Willoughby Cotton, advanced through Scinde and Beloochistan to Candahar, where it formed a junction with the main body under Sir John Keane. Login accompanied the force, and shortly after he arrived at Candahar, in May, 1839, he was asked by Major D'Arcy Todd to accompany his mission to Herát, with the option of remaining there, or returning through Turkestan to Cabul with Major Eldred Pottinger.

The military authorities, however, were very unwilling to lose his services, and it was only on his personal application at Lord Keane's headquarters, stating his desire to join the mission, that leave was at last granted.

On his departure, he received from the Commander-in-Chief a most gratifying official letter, testifying to his valuable services.

## CHAPTER II.

### HERÁT.

Chapter II. 1839-40.

"For three or four hundred years," says Colonel Malleson,* "the valley and city of Herát were the granary and garden of Central Asia. In that valley and within the walls of that city the desolating presence of the Afghan was, in those days, never felt. The inhabitants, of mixed Persian and Turkí blood, were industrious, inventive, energetic, and painstaking. The fertile valley of the Herirúd produced supplies far more than sufficient for their simple wants. Their city lay on the intersecting point of the roads which communicated with the markets of Europe, of India, of Bokhára, and of Persia.

"Under these circumstances Herát soon became the most important commercial city in Central Asia. . . . Her streets were adorned with palaces, with markets, with aqueducts, the remains of which even now excite wonder and admiration. The courts of her ruling princes became centres to which the intellectual

* "*Herát*," by Colonel Malleson, C.S.I., pp. 9-11.

aristocracy of Central Asia resorted—all who were famous in poesy, in science, in astronomy, in architectural acquirements. Her fame was sung by poets, and recorded by historians. Nor was the prosperity confined to the city alone. It spread into the valleys, to the north, and to the west. To this day the valley of the Murghab, even as far as Merv, is strewn with ruins of castles and villas which attested the prosperity of the parent city. Nor was that prosperity transient. Conquerors indeed came, and besieged, occasionally they even stormed, the city. But those conquerors were not Afghans. They did not carry in their hands a withering and perpetual desolation. After coming to conquer they remained to repair. And so inherent were the advantages possessed by the city, that after each new conquest she rose again almost immediately from her ashes, and recovered her former prosperity. . . . . Herát still remained the commercial queen of Central Asia . . . , until the year 1717"—when the Afghans first captured the city.



In such glowing and eloquent language does the able pen of Malleson describe the famous city. Some idea of its size in former times may be gathered from the fact, that when in 1219 it was taken by Chingiz Khan, it was found to contain 12,000 retail shops, 6,000 public baths, caravanserai, and water-mills, 350 schools and monastic institutions, and 144,000 occupied houses. One million and a half of men perished in the siege. Again, in the time of Tamerlane (1381), the pro-

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verb was universal, "Which is the most splendid city in the world? If you answer truly you must say Herát!"*.

But it is not only on account of its wealth and commerce that Herát has such a paramount position in Central Asia, and it was chiefly its strategical importance, as dominating the road to India, which induced Lord Auckland to despatch thither the mission under Major D'Arcy Todd. His aim was not only to further the commercial interests of the East India Company by opening its markets to British trade, but also to cultivate amicable relations with the ruler of Herát, Shah Kamrán; and by aiding him with grants of money and the support of the English name, enable him to maintain his independence, and withstand the attacks of Persia, instigated by Russian agents.

The distress among the starving population was great, and the want of confidence in their ruler crushed all heart out of the people and prevented their making any effort to better their condition. Shah Kamrán was at this time a perfect cipher in the hands of his Wuzeer, Yar Mahomed, but his own character for brutality, cruelty, and deceit, was such that there was no hope of matters being better conducted in his own hands.

He was the son of Mahmoud, the last of the Sadoksye Kings of Cabul, and had, in his father's lifetime, been made by him Governor of Herát. When

*See Malleson's "*Herát*."

Mahmoud was driven from Cabul and deprived of his kingdom, he retreated to Herát, which place still remained faithful to him, and calling himself "King of Herát," under the suzerainty of Persia, remained there until he died by the hand of his son Kamrán, who thereupon proclaimed himself King. Chapter II. 1839-40.

Shah Kamrán soon proved himself a very troublesome vassal, frequently making raids on the neighbouring tribes and villages wherever he could obtain spoil; and having constantly to be called to account for his filibustering behaviour, he was seldom in favour with his suzerain, who was at last provoked into attacking him in his stronghold.

The renowned siege of Herát by Mahmoud Shah, King of Persia, had taken place only two years before the mission arrived there, when the brave Eldred Pottinger was the instigator and leader of the successful defence made by the Herátis against the Persian army.

The following extract from a letter written by Login to his mother gives his first impressions of Herát:—

*July 29th*, 1839.

. . . . You will be glad to hear that we have reached this famed fortress in safety. Our political negotiations are, I think, going on well, and I hope ere long that British influence may be fully established here. The city and its environs have suffered severely from the siege, not one-fourth of its former population remains. Under a good Government it might in a short time

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regain its former prosperity, but such is not Shah Kamrán's! We expect to be allowed to spend part of the money, we have brought in repairing the fortifications, giving advances to the cultivators, and supporting the poor, of which there are an immense number; but these Asiatics are so jealous of our interference and so suspicious of our motives that there is no certainty as to what we may be permitted to do. The people of the surrounding country are wild and lawless, but they have a very high opinion of individual British skill and prowess, and consequently respect us greatly. I have no doubt that, with God's blessing, much good may be done amongst them. I believe it is almost decided that I am to remain here for some time. I cannot say that I at all dislike the idea of doing so: the country is very fine, climate to an European delightful, snow for four months in the year, fruit of all kinds in great abundance, "only man is vile!"

I think I *ought* to remain here—a wide field of usefulness is open to me, and I may, through Divine blessing, be preparing a way for a Christian mission in this centre of Asia ere long. Colonel Stoddart, who was here lately with Pottinger, is now at Bokhára, sent as an agent from the British Government. The Usbegs affected to treat him as a Russian spy, and put him in prison; but he has found favour with his jailor, and is by no means uncomfortable. I believe him to be a sincere Christian, and who knows but what the city, "Holy Bokhára," as it is called, may yet feel his influence.

There are several families of Jews here. I had yesterday a long conversation with two of them; they were much delighted with part of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans which I read to them in Persian.* While here my allowance may be about

* Jews are settled in great numbers over Eastern Persia and Turkestan, though only a few families were then to be found at Herát, who, however, were well affected to the mission.

Among themselves they use the Persian language, written in the Hebrew character, and as they appeared much delighted with the small tract which

700 rupees per month, but expenses are very great. The poor of the city are to be my special charge. Chapter II. 1839-40.

There is something unique in the idea of our Government strengthening itself by acts of benevolence in the interior of the city, while its walls are being repaired without.

The courier starts immediately. God bless you all.

Your affectionate son,

JOHN.

The Herát Mission was composed of the following officers :—

Major D'ARCY TODD, Envoy;
Capt. EDWARD SANDERS, Bengal Engineers;
Lieut. EDWARD CONOLLY, Bengal Engineers;
Lieut. JAMES ABBOTT, Bengal Engineers;
Lieut. RICHMOND SHAKESPEAR, Bengal Artillery;
Lieut. CHARLES F. NORTH, Bombay Engineers;
Dr. RITCHIE, Bombay Army;
Dr. LOGIN, Bengal Army;

joining Major Eldred Pottinger at Herát in August, 1839.

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Login had got one of their Rabbis to transcribe for them, he was induced to employ the same man on a similar transcription of Martyn's Persian Testament.

This was not finished when the mission left Herát, so Login took the manuscript with him to Cabul, where he met a son of the old Rabbi, just arrived with letters from Stoddart at Bokhára. Him, Login engaged to complete the work, leaving him in the charge of Major Dawes, B.H.A., who took the Jew with him to Jellallabad, where the transcription was finished during the siege and sent down to Peshawur by the first *kafila*, which traversed the Khyber after Pollock's advance. *Thirteen years after* Login had the happiness of hearing that this last-named Jew had through this work been led to enquire into the truth of the Gospel, and died a Christian at Bombay.—*Ferrier's "Caravan Journey,"* p. 123.

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Login undertook the charge of the poor, amounting to 2,000, who had for some time before the arrival of mission been supported by Eldred Pottinger, at the expense of the British Government.

As soon as arrangements could be made by the Engineer officers, a portion of the destitute people were employed in the fortifications of the city, but a large number of females and infirm persons remained to be provided for, and continued under charge of Dr. Login during the stay of the mission. For those of this class, who were unable to earn a livelihood, an asylum was established by him, in which employment was given to the blind and infirm according to their various circumstances, and with a success that was truly gratifying. To those able to work at their own homes (the custom of the country preventing out-door work for females) he endeavoured, with great success, to re-establish the manufacture of carpets, for which Herát had always been famed—the women being employed in spinning the cotton and wool required for the purpose, and receiving a supply of food (*attah*, flour) for their labour.

On the success of these arrangements being reported to the Court of Directors, a sum of 700 rupees per mensem was ordered to be placed at Dr. Login's disposal to carry on this work, and also that of a dispensary and hospital which he had established, and which was daily attended by crowds of the sick poor of the city and surrounding country.

In addition to these duties above mentioned, the Commissariat and Post Office were placed under Dr. Login's charge; the former being of great importance, owing to the famine at Herát after the siege, and the necessity of obtaining supplies from a great distance, *i.e.*, Seistan and Merv—not only for the mission, but also for the numerous poor dependent on it; and the latter including the establishment of horsemen for the protection of travellers between Herát and Candahar, a distance of 400 miles. Dr. Login personally inspected all the intermediate stations, conciliating the Dourani tribes in the neighbourhood (by which the safe passage of the mission was afterwards much facilitated). The arrangements on this line were so successful, that the members of the mission were able to communicate with Candahar in less time than letters took to go from Candahar to Cabul, though the distance in the former case is greater by 100 miles; while so efficient was the protection of the road under the system employed—viz., that of keeping at each station two or more Afghan foot-soldiers belonging to the *Sir-i-Khail* (chief of the tribe) of most influence in the neighbourhood—that during the whole eighteen months only two or three trifling robberies took place throughout the whole distance.

Chapter II. 1839-40.

During 1840, Login was despatched on a special mission to Candahar. His chief object was to convey despatches and presents for transmission to England, and to bring back the treasure (sovereigns) for use of

Chapter II. 1839-40.

the mission at Herát. He made a most successful journey, meeting with the utmost courtesy and kindness at every *Khail* he passed through; probably owing as much to his control over the guards on the road, and his well-armed party of twelve, as to his reputation as a *Feringhi Hakim*.

At one of his halting-places, however, he was near falling a victim to Afghan treachery. He had been received by an Afghan chief in the neighbourhood of Washeer in a most courteous and hospitable manner, and honoured with an *istigbal* in Afghan style—the eldest son of the chief having been sent out to meet him with display of feats of horsemanship. The principal men of the tribe were also invited to a feast in his honour.

It was arranged before parting for the night that the Khan, with an escort, should accompany Login next morning for a short way towards Ghirishk. It happened, however, that the latter awoke very early, and could not again fall asleep (*the Afghan pilau may have been indigestible!*), so finding the moon bright and the weather favourable, he left his little tent which was pitched in the courtyard of the caravanserai, and walked to the gate, where he found a Pharsevân holding the horse of the sleeping Afghan who was supposed to be sentinel. After a little conversation with this man, during which he was considerably enlightened as to the character of his host, Login determined to wake up his men and proceed on his

journey to Ghirishk as soon as possible. This was done, and a message sent to the Khan of apology and thanks, accompanied by a small present. The Khan speedily appeared, and endeavoured to dissuade him; but failing in this, ordered out his party to escort him. This was civilly declined by Login, who after a trying march of nearly fifty miles reached Girishk in safety, and was cordially welcomed by Captain E—— in charge of the district. Chapter II. 1839-40.

On the following day, Captain E——'s agents brought information that the Khan of Washeer had, while entertaining his guest, despatched messages to Aktar Khan, a Dourani chieftain then encamped not far from Sadaat, urging him to intercept Login, who would pass at a certain time, and who would prove a valuable prize!

Had it not providentially happened that the aforesaid "prize" had been induced to start two hours earlier than was expected, he might not have reached Ghirishk so safely, and a valuable copy of the "Shahnameh" presented by Shah Kamrán to Her Majesty, of which he was the bearer, and which he afterwards had the pleasure of recognizing in the Royal Library at Windsor, might have failed to reach its destination.

Being deeply interested in carrying out his various duties, Login, at the earnest desire of the Envoy, declined to avail himself of the option given him to return to Cabul with Major Pottinger.

Chapter II. 1839-40.

In the following March, 1840, he received a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Jasper Nicoll, intimating that he had, on the recommendation of several medical authorities in Calcutta, appointed him as surgeon on his personal staff, hoping he could make arrangements to join. On hearing this, the Envoy at Cabul represented so strongly to the Governor-General, at the instance of D'Arcy Todd, the great importance of Dr. Login's work at Herát, and the difficulty there would be to replace him, that Lord Auckland requested Sir Jasper Nicolls to appoint another surgeon to officiate for him till he could be spared from his present post, intimating to Sir Jasper at the same time that he (Lord Auckland) intended giving Dr. Login a permanent appointment as soon as he could.

After Eldred Pottinger had left, taking with him Dr. Ritchie, the number of the mission was still further reduced by Conolly's departure to Seistan, and at Christmas, Abbott, and later on Shakespear, were sent by Todd on a mission to Khiva on behalf of the Russian captives.

The small remnant became entirely dependent for news of the outer world on the *cossids*, or runners, whom Login had established on the roads to carry the posts; and their appearance at stated periods was anxiously looked for. Mitford's arrival was, therefore, an event eagerly welcomed, and as his description of the position of affairs at the time, and the life led by the mission

at Herát, is the most detailed and interesting on the subject, some extracts from his work are inserted, in spite of its being already so well known. Chapter II. 1839-40.

* *Oct. 27th*, 1840.

Reaching Herát at sunset, I entered the gate, and made my way through a long street crowded with people and strings of camels, and proceeded immediately to the Residence of the British Envoy, Major D'Arcy Todd, by whom I was most kindly and cordially welcomed. Major Todd's party at this time consisted of Lieut. North, Bombay Engineers, and Dr. Login, of the Bengal Army. I experienced the most assiduous kindness from those gentlemen, and once more felt myself at home with countrymen and friends, most thankful that I had not been marched as a slave to Khiva by the Turcomans. My wardrobe, as may be imagined, was in a very precarious condition—my frock-coat was dilapidated at the elbows, the buttons had made their escape from their cases, and altogether I was scarcely fit to appear in civilized society, but by the kindness of these friends I was soon furnished with a fresh outfit.

The British Envoy arrived at Herát in August, 1839, since which time a great change has been effected in the condition of the place; the town reviving from its ruins, the population returning, the peasantry are restoring their villages, resuming the cultivation of their fields, and caravans of Herátis are daily arriving from Meshed and other places where they had taken refuge, to re-occupy their deserted homes under the protection of the English name. These people had fled, not as might have been supposed, from the Persians, but to escape the tyranny of the Wuzeer, and actual ruler, Yar Mahomed, the greatest oppressor of his own people. He carried on a trade with the Turcomans in

* Mitford's "*Land March.*"

Chapter II. 1839-40.

slaves, receiving in return horses and cash; he is said to have disposed of over 30,000 of his own people in this nefarious way! and nothing but our protection induces the people to return within reach of this miscreant. . . . .

Dr. Login informed me that when the Envoy first arrived the place was full of beggars, the remains of the ruined population scarcely amounting to a thousand, but now there is a well-stocked bazaar crowded with people, and a beggar is rarely seen. Dr. Login has contributed much by his praiseworthy exertions to the rising prosperity of the place: he employs the people in various works and branches of industry, and has re-established the carpet manufacture for which Herát was always celebrated.* These carpets are very handsome, and the colours bright. I visited some of the looms, and was struck with the rapidity with which they worked; they had no pattern to guide them, but worked from memory, yet never made a mistake by inserting the wrong-coloured worsteds.

When the Envoy arrived he found no house that he could occupy, but was assigned a large garden surrounded by the ruins of the Shah's palace in this place, called the Char-Bagh; there was not a room entire, and he was forced to pitch his tent until a house could be built. There is now abundant accommodation, the Residency being large and commodious. Dr. Login has also built a pretty house on a more European plan at the opposite side of the garden—which gives the place a most uniform appearance; in the centre of the garden is a large square tank, where several broad pathways intersecting the garden meet, the different partitions being full of trees and shrubs.

The people of Herát seem well-disposed towards the English,

* The Heráti carpet is famed above all others for the brilliancy and permanency of its colours. They are made in all sizes and prices from £1 to £100. Conolly pronounced the best pieces he saw to equal the Turkey carpet, and their price to be moderate.—*Malleson's "Herát,"* p. 92.

and well they may, considering the benefits they reap from them. They are protected from tyranny, they are profitably employed, as well as assisted by us; the villagers are advanced money and grain to plant their fields; but what reliance can be placed on a fickle populace if their chiefs are inimical?* Chapter II. 1839-40.

When the Envoy first arrived he had with him a detachment of Sepoys. These were sent back to Cándahar, as he considered himself safer without them. He has a pretty little castellated walled village on the Herirúd, three miles from the town,† where in case of danger he might take refuge and maintain himself until events turned in his favour. . . . At the Residency they have adopted the precaution of giving appropriate conventional names to all the people of importance, to prevent servants who may know a little English from understanding the

* Writing so late as 1863, Vambéry says, "I find no exaggeration in the opinion that the Heratees long most for the intervention of the English, whose feelings of humanity and justice have led the inhabitants to forget the great differences in religion and nationality. They saw during the government of Major Todd more earnestness and self-sacrifice with respect to the ransoming of slaves than they had ever even heard of before on the part of a ruler."

† A beautiful garden at Herát is mentioned in Ferrier's "*Caravan Journey*," described as a new one laid out by Yar Mohamed; this, according to Login's notes must be "one which originally belonged to Hajee Ferozeoodeen (grandfather of the present ruler). It is situated on the Candahar road, within a short distance of the Herirúd. Like all the other gardens in the neighbourhood, it had been destroyed by the Persians during the siege, but after the retreat of Mahomed's army it was made over to Eldred Pottinger, who expended a small sum in restoring it and repairing the garden-house. Major D'Arcy Todd continued to keep it up and embellish it, and all our party, especially Major James Abbott, while he remained at Herát, took more or less interest in putting it into order. Seeds and plants of various kinds were procured for it by Todd from India and England, with a view to make it useful as a nursery for the improvement and restoration of other gardens. Besides this garden, which was made over to the mission, a farm, at some distance up the valley, of about 200 acres, was presented to me by Shah Kamrán, but at my request assigned for the support of a dispensary and poor-house that had been established in the city during our stay there. The farm was remarkable for its fertility, especially for the quality of the melons which it produced."—J. S. L.

Chapter II. 1839-40.

conversation. Shah Kamrán, for instance, living in the "Ark,"* was given the appropriate name of *Noah*. . . . . The prosperity of the country is now fast reviving.† . . . . If Herát were occupied by us, and agriculture encouraged, any moderate-sized military force could be maintained here on the supplies of the country, and hold its own against all-comers.

The grapes of the Herát valley are particularly luscious. "The cultivators of this happy valley," says Conolly, in 1831, "enumerate, if I remember rightly, seventeen different sorts of grapes which they grew."

During his residence in Herát, Dr. Login often came in contact with the members of Shah Kamrán's household, and was in great favour, being constantly called upon for professional advice, which he afforded willingly to all. This was frequently used merely as a pretext to get him to give the news of the outer world to those who were kept in seclusion, Shah Kamrán himself often requesting him to come, ostensibly to prescribe for some passing ailment, but more for the purpose of getting him to talk of England, its power and greatness in contrast with Persia and Russia, the Queen, and that very mysterious power known as "Jân Kumpany Bahadoor," whose existence he marvelled at being permitted by the great

* Persian for "citadel."

† The town of Herát, destroyed by the siege of 1838, rose by degrees from its ruins, thanks to the gold that the English had so profusely scattered around them.—Ferrier's "*Caravan Journey*."

Queen, in case they should rebel against her some day! Chapter II. 1839-40.

On many of these occasions. there would be an unseen, *though not unheard*, audience, listening in wrapt attention to his descriptions, and many were the audible "*wah! wah's!*" Kamrán's favourite wife was very intelligent, and full of anxiety to hear all about Englishwomen, and especially everything that could be told her about her *sister* the Queen! She always called the Hakim Sahib "*bhai*," or brother, and this originated his *soubriquet* among his colleagues, the Begum, at the same time, being known as "Login's sister." The needlework done by the ladies in the harem was beautiful, and they were always sending him specimens of their skill—embroidered vests, and quilted *chogas* and *resais*. Covers were made for Login's Bible and Prayer Book, and this opportunity was made use of by him to send a Persian Testament to have a cover made for it; and when he found it bore marks of having been read (by whom he never discovered), he offered to exchange it for a volume of Hafiz's poems, which offer was eagerly accepted.

Though the common speech of the people of Herát is Pushtoo, they have no literature in that language, it being merely a colloquial dialect or corrupt form of the Persian. Consequently, as Login says:—

The first book in Pushtoo ever seen by Shah Kamrán and his family, or by any other person, I believe, at Herát, was a New

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Testament which I had brought from India, and which had been published by the missionaries at Serampore in the Persian character. It excited great interest among them, and was read by some of their learned men. It was, if my memory serves me right, in possession of Shahzadah Mohamed Yussuf, the present ruler of Herát (1856), at the time of the departure of the mission. At all events, he had got it from me a short time before. May I hope that it has been equally as useful as the Hebrew transcript! After the siege, Eldred Pottinger commenced a translation into Pushtoo of a part of the Holy Scriptures, but discontinued it on finding I had brought a copy.

In connection with this, I may mention, that I gave away several copies of Martyn's New Testament in Persian to people of influence at Herát, and a Testament in Turkí to the Khalifa of Merv, a man of considerable sanctity among the Turcomans. With this latter I had, perhaps, more intercourse than any other member of the mission, from the circumstance of almost every one who came in with *kafilas* from Khiva and Bokhára being anxious to consult the "Feringhi Hakim" at the dispensary, either for their own maladies, or for those of their relations; and few of them went away without asking to see the *hikmut* by which the blind were taught to work in the poor-house.

I must confess, it was not a little gratifying to me to learn from Wolff's "*Journal*" that kind inquiries were long afterwards made at Merv for a gentleman of the name of "Luggan," with whom Dr. Wolff said he had not the pleasure of being acquainted.*

The Hindostani servants who had accompanied the mission to Herát, not caring to remain there for an indefinite period, became clamorous to return, and they were allowed to depart to Candahar with the first

*J. S. L. Notes to Ferrier's "*Caravan Journey*," p. 185.

safe escort, leaving their masters to supply their places as best they could with Herátis. Login was the only one unaffected by this move, as his faithful Khalipha, Ali Bux, would not desert him; he said that he had been with him from the first, and meant to die in his service. He also declared his intention to make himself comfortable in Herát, and take a Heráti wife, as it might be years before he again visited Lucknow, where he had left his wife. He found no difficulty in making his selection; and with the consent of her family, Fatimah, whom he declared "fair like a *Belati Bibi*," * cast in her lot with the mission, and when its departure was decided on, refused to leave her husband, and with her child, accompanied him through many dangers and forced marches, proving herself a fearless rider.† Chapter II. 1839-40.

Poor Khalipha was not always able to preserve the peace between his rival wives when in after life he settled down in Lucknow, as Derogah of the Gharib-

* *i.e.*, European lady.

† On one occasion Khalipha, who was in charge of the baggage animals, saved the papers and valuables from loot by marauders. Solemnly opening one box he displayed a number of terrible-looking surgical instruments (of which they stand in great awe), and declared that these and some marvellous *dawaie* (medicine) formed the sole contents of the boxes, which were the property of the world-famed Hakim and Wizard who had worked such wonders at Herát, emphasizing his assertion by pointing at the same time to his enchanter's staff which he carried in his hand, and to which the wild tribesmen instinctively salaamed with deep reverence. The staff was Login's favourite walking-stick, a very formidable bludgeon, a gift from D'Arcy Todd, having a coiled snake around it, and being covered with hieroglyphics all carved by him; it bore also the inscription, "Bhuggut Ram (Todd's *soubriquet*), his work."

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khana, surrounded by his various belongings; but to the last he was devoted to the "fair Fatimah."

Hinghan Khan, an orphan boy of good family, one of the captives rescued by Eldred Pottinger from the Turcomans, used to follow Login about like his shadow, sleeping at his door all night, until at last the Hakim Sahib took him into his service. He proved himself invaluable, adapting himself to all circumstances and places. He was, like all his countrymen, a splendid rider, and was of great service on several occasions when there were difficulties with the tribesmen on the march.

With these two servants Login was very independent at Herát, though, of course, the style of living was decidedly primitive, and the Persian mode was perforce adopted. Still, life, with all its attendant roughnesses, was thoroughly enjoyed by men who led such a busy, well-occupied existence, doing good to their fellow-creatures, and by their blameless lives, in the midst of debauchery and excess, shedding lustre on the name of Englishmen; and during the whole stay of the mission the fanatic Mahomedans had before them a living example of Christianity in that band of devoted, self-sacrificing soldiers.

The Envoy kept an excellent Persian cook, to whose abilities Englishmen and Afghans, at our morning meals, says Login (to quote again from the notes previously mentioned), did ample justice, with such knives and forks as may have been used by

Abraham; but we generally *dined* alone in the English style, and I think the prudence of this arrangement cannot be doubted. The Heráti Afghans are a very drunken lot, and cannot understand the self-denial of Christians in declining to drink, when wine is not prohibited to them by their religion. Chapter II. 1839-40.

Shortly after our arrival at Herát, in walking across the garden one dark night after dinner, without waiting for the lantern, on my return from the Envoy's to my own residence, I struck my foot against the ledge of the *houz* (cistern surrounding the fountain), which happened that day to have been nearly emptied for the purpose of cleaning it out, and fell to a depth of about eight feet, receiving a severe concussion. It was at once supposed by the people of Herát that I had been drunk on this occasion, although by habit almost a "teetotaler!" and all the kind condolences with which I was honoured by Shah Kamrán and his family, and Yar Mohamed and his chiefs, were evidently offered under this impression. Nujoo Khan, the "*topshee bashee*," himself a noted toper, wished me quietly, in confidence, to acknowledge that I had taken "*kudrezeadah!*"* and it was not till my habits were better known that I was exonerated from the suspicion.

About a year afterwards, happening to go up to the citadel to the King, I found him drinking some Shiraz wine, which he also desired the "*athar bashee*," after I had been seated, to offer to me; and on observing that I merely tasted it, the Shah said, with a knowing look, "Don't be afraid, there is no *houz* here!"

During the Ramazan, the public Afghan breakfast gave place to private English ones; but we were then honoured with the presence of Sirdar Sheer Mohamed Khan, brother to the Wuzeer, who, to entitle him to the privileges of a *traveller*, had, while the fast lasted, pitched his tent outside the gate of the city, and came to learn the European mode of eating with knife, fork, and

* *Anglicè*, "a drop too much."

Chapter II. 1839-40. spoon. (Travellers, in Mussulmaun countries, being exempted from the necessity of observing fasts.)

It will thus be seen that the Afghans are not altogether rigid Mahomedans, as regards the abstention from wine and the due observance of fasts, but their hatred to heathen *Kafirs** is very marked, and they carefully avoid all intercourse with them. Consequently, in Afghanistan, the Hindoo servants who had followed the mission, found their position towards their Christian masters, with respect to caste and purity, exactly reversed to what it would be in Hindostan. At Herát and beyond the Indus generally, Christians—as *people of the Book*—were freely admitted to eat with Mahomedans, so long as they abstained from the forbidden food; and we were often asked, "Why we allowed unclean *Kafirs*, like Hindoos, to be freely admitted into our houses?"

When travelling between Candahar and Cabul we were met by a few horsemen of one of our irregular cavalry regiments—Mahomedans from India. Our servants, Afghans and Pharsevâns, to show their hospitality, offered them a "*kalian*" which had just been smoked by Major Todd.

The Indian Mahomedans asked if they intended to insult them by "offering a pipe smoked by a *Kafir*?" whereupon our people retorted, that the Indian Mussulmaun were *Kafirs* in following the customs of Hindoos, and a battle royal would have ensued, had we not interfered.

For eighteen months previous to the arrival of the English mission, Shah Kamrán had never stirred out of the citadel, and was only induced to ride, for the benefit of his health, at my suggestion. One reason he gave for not showing himself in public was, that the Wuzeer did not allow him a proper retinue. He never rode out during our stay, without asking me to accom-

* Infidels.

pany him;* though whether this partiality for my society arose from any mistaken idea as to my official importance, I cannot say! Chapter II. 1839-40.

The influence which the "Hakim Sahib" has generally exercised in the British Embassy at Teheran, and the employment of such men as Campbell, Jukes, McNeill, Riach, Bell, Lord, and others, in various important duties in those countries, has naturally led the chiefs of Herát to suppose that "physicians" occupy a higher place in the councils of the English than is accorded them, and they attribute much of the prosperity of the English nation to their "*hikmat*."

There was much personal and social intercourse between the members of the mission, and some of the Afghan Sirdars; and amongst those who were fond of being seen in their company was Syud Mohamed, the Wuzeer's eldest son. This youth, who by no means inherited his father's great abilities, was frequently an unconscious source of amusement to the English officers.

During one of his visits to the Char-Bagh, he expressed a wish to learn English, upon which a wag of the party offered to teach him a sentence; and under the impression that it was merely an ordinary English salutation like "*Khoosh amedeed*," taught him to say "You are a spoon!"

Full of importance of the acquisition—though somewhat doubtful of the exact meaning—on meeting his father on his return home, he accosted him by saying, "*Agir-be-adebi*" (If it be not disrespectful!) "you are a spoon!"

There is a certain grim humour in the intense inappropriateness of such a mild epithet as applied to the ferocious Yar

* On one of these occasions, Shah Kamrán proposed to exchange horses with Login as a seal of friendship. Login named the Turcoman "Kamrán," and found him invaluable on a march—Turcoman horses are noted for their power of endurance.

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Mahomed, whose atrocious cruelties—practised not only on criminals, but on his "political opponents"—are past belief. He is said to have flayed a chief of the Bardooranis alive, and afterwards stewed him in a large cauldron! not long before Pottinger reached Herát.

Colonel James Abbott and General C. F. North are the only two living members of the Herát Mission at this date. The former writes as follows:—

Login's fine temper and cheerfulness under difficulties on the march won all our hearts, and he was voted a most important acquisition. Though we were beset with constant rumours of intended treachery, nothing of the kind actually occurred on that usually desert tract, which we traversed by marches, averaging twenty miles each.

On arrival at Herát, Login obtained permission to set up a hospital for native patients, the scanty remnants of the once dense population being in the utmost misery from long starvation during a siege of ten months. To his care also were made over the children whom Eldred Pottinger had rescued from the Turcomans. He also took charge of our post-office arrangements. He was a first-rate man of business, and invaluable to the mission, his benevolence equalling his zeal and his capacity. Whatever could be done to alleviate the terrible distress and misery in which we found the remnants of that once thronged population, the Envoy (with Login's loving aid) carried out. The people marvelled that a nation, strangers to them in faith, should thus lavish lakhs of rupees and all their energies to alleviate the sufferings of wretched beings who could never hope to be even useful citizens. *They* marvelled, but *one man* execrated what excited wonder in the rest. *He* believed the whole work of benevolence to be part of a plot or scheme on our part to render his own detestable conduct more abhorrent to the people he ruled!

About Christmas, 1839, the Envoy despatched me on a mission to Khiva, and I parted from Login, whom I met but once again, and that casually. He, however, remained with the Envoy to the last, rendering excellent service and retiring with him. The Envoy's value for him was very great. Chapter II. 1839-40.

General North writes:—

Soon after we got settled in Herát, Login set himself to work to assist the poor, who were in a starving condition. Herát, when in its prosperity, had been famed for the manufacture of Persian carpets or large rugs, but at the time of our arrival, there were only two or three men who knew anything about it; but this was enough for Login, who at once started a carpet manufactory, giving employment to many people; and although their first productions were coarse they sold well, and he was encouraged to persevere, until before we left, the Herát looms turned out articles that vied with the best made in Persia. Login also established a dispensary, and was continually employed in one way or another in exercising his truly benevolent disposition for the benefit of those among whom he found himself.

Our Indian servants soon left, and we had to replace them with natives of the country. We had a train of baggage mules and camels, which required a good many men to look after it. About sixty horses were at different times presented to the Envoy, and we put men on them and made them into an irregular cavalry escort. Besides these there were numerous *Peshkidmuts*, or personal servants, and *Farrashes*, house servants, natives of the place. All these were placed under the control of the assistant to the Envoy, which office I held after Abbott's departure to Khiva, and a very troublesome lot I found them! for as they were half Soonees and half Shiahs, they were always quarrelling among themselves—these two sects among Mahome-

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dans being as inimical to each other as Protestants and Roman Catholics in Ireland.

One day the Envoy asked me, "North, how do you manage those fellows? Abbott was always asking me to settle some dispute, but you never do?" I replied, "When they come to complain against each other, as they lie so abominably that truth cannot be arrived at, nor justice done, I just order the *Farrash-Bashee* to put one foot of the complainant and one of the defendant in the *fullukh* (the pole to which feet are tied for bastinadoing) and to bastinado them both, and so the right man gets punished, and complaints diminish, whatever quarrels do!" Altogether they are not bad fellows, and we get along very well with them.

When our Indian servants left, we adopted the Persian style of living; all meals taken on the floor, no chairs or tables, no knives or forks, all food put into the mouth with the fingers and thumb of the right hand; we soon became expert at it, but our first attempts at this mode of feeding were rather ludicrous. On the occasion of our making our entry into Herát we were all in full-dress uniform, and went to the Palace to pay our respects to the King. After our reception Shah Kamrán sent us a dinner which was of course served on the floor. In addition to the officers attached to the mission, there were present the Wuzeer, Yar Mahomed Khan, and eight or ten of the Sirdars of Herát. It is not etiquette to sit cross-legged like a tailor, but on one's heels in a kneeling posture; the spurs on the heels of our boots prevented our doing this with any degree of comfort. The sight of some half-dozen tightly buttoned up men, encumbered with swords and cocked hats, kneeling around more than fifty dishes spread on the floor, and awkwardly endeavouring to get their food into their mouths with their fingers, kept us in perpetual stifled bursts of laughter, while the Afghan chiefs stared at us in wonderment, keeping grave faces all the time. When the dinner was over it was quite a relief to us to be allowed to cross our legs, for which

we begged permission of our host. When Todd explained the cause of our merriment, the Wuzeer said, "That to see us stooping over the dishes with our cocked hats and feathers reminded him of a lot of fowls picking up grain!" Chapter II. 1839-40.

The chief dish at a Persian dinner is *pillaou*—rice cooked with butter—in which is the mutton or fowls, and there are numerous small dishes to be eaten with it. At a large entertainment there would be a whole sheep stuffed with fowls, and these each stuffed with raisins, pistachios, and spices. To cook this, a hole is dug in the ground and lined with smooth round stones, a fire of wood is made in the hole, and when the stones are very hot vine leaves are laid over them, and the sheep put in, and the hole covered over; the sheep comes out perfectly cooked by the steam, and the meat is very tender.

Owing to the sudden withdrawal of the mission, much valuable property, as well as paper, diaries, &c., were sacrificed, as we left in light marching order.

The following was written by Login from Herát to his brother-in-law, John Beatton:—

HERÁT, *Nov. 16th*, 1840.

. . . . . We have already had letters by this route (*viâ* Erzeroum), c/o H.M. Chargé d'Affaires, in seventy-three days from Paris, though for upwards of 700 miles the letters are carried by a single runner or "cossid" on foot. As soon as I hear of the return of our mission to Teheran, I shall endeavour to get a regular mail established between that place and Herát, and have no doubt that it will prove most useful. Within the last few days we have had good news from several quarters. From Khiva, of the delivery over to the Russian authorities of all the Russian captives by Captain Shakespear, and of the probable settlement of the differences in that quarter; from Bokhára, of Col. Stoddart being released

Chapter II. 1839-40.

from jail, and being entrusted with the command of the Ameer's Artillery; of the surrender of Dost Mahomed to the Envoy and Minister, at Cabul; of the defeat of the Belooch Army at Dâdar; of the occupation of Kelat, by our troops under General Nott; of the submissive answer of the Sikh Durbar to our demand for passage of our troops through the Punjab, and an explanation of their treacherous conduct in assisting the rebels in Afghanistan —*all* these providential occurrences have assisted us to strengthen our position.

Within the last month we have lost many promising officers, among them Broadfoot of the Engineers, an Orkneyman. Dr. Lord, who was in political charge of the northern frontier, a distinguished officer, has also been killed in one of our engagements with the Dost.

Here we have been very quiet, but had matters not turned out as they have done I doubt whether such would have long been the case.

If ever nation has had cause to say "the Lord has been gracious unto us," assuredly we have; it has not been by the power of man that all these things have been brought to pass. . . . . I see little prospect of being allowed to join my appointment on the Commander-in-Chief's staff, but I am contented here. . . . .

Those of our readers who may be interested in the general aspect of affairs in Central Asia at the period of the First Afghan War, will find an account of the causes which led to the despatch of the mission to Herát, and of the political history of that mission in notes and appendix to General Ferrier's "*Caravan Journey*," which Sir John Login compiled many years after at the request of the author—a portion of which

is also quoted in Kaye's "*Lives of Indian Officers.*" Sir John Login's views are there given on this question, and also a description of the duplicity, arrogance, and avarice of Yar Mahomed and his nominal master, Shah Kamrán, which will serve to explain Todd's reasons for the sudden withdrawal of the mission. Though upwards of nineteen lakhs of rupees had been advanced to the Herát Government * and people to assist them against the Persians, Yar Mahomed not only demanded more, but continued to insult the British Envoy, while he kept up a secret correspondence with the Persian Minister, in which he declared himself the *faithful servant of the Shah-in-Shah*, that he merely tolerated the presence of the English Envoy from expediency, but that his *hopes rested in the "Asylum of Islam!"*



When this glaring breach of treaty became known to Major Todd, he determined to mark his opinion of such duplicity by stopping the monthly payment of 25,000 rupees until the pleasure of Government

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* A short abstract or memorandum of expenditure found amongst Sir John Login's papers may give some idea of the amounts expended on the Heráts. It runs as follows:—

Abstract of expenditure on charitable establishments by the Herát Mission, for six months, 1st May to 31st October, 1840, inclusive.

Total received by W. S. Login ... .. ... ... ... Rs. 6,378, 8, 4½

Disbursed on account of hospital, dispensary, pauper establishment, orphans, carpet-weavers, cultivators, &c. ... ... Rs. 6,378, 8, 4½

should be known, and notified his intention to the Wuzeer.

1839-40. Finding himself, in consequence of the Envoy's resolution, in great straits for money, Yar Mahomed ventured on the bold step of declaring that unless money was forthcoming the British Mission must depart from Herát.

Shah Kamrán,* says Login in the "Notes" before mentioned, for a long time back had felt that the lives of the Englishmen were in imminent danger, and he told me in August, 1840, that such was the case, but that the *Sahibán Inglis* need be under no apprehension, as he was our friend; but that had he not protected us, not a Feringhi would have been left alive. His Majesty was pleased to conclude by asking if he did not "deserve credit for behaving so differently to us from what the Ameer of Bokhára had done to Stoddart Sahib?"

In reply I thanked His Majesty for his kindness, but said that "we were under no apprehension; that we were conscious of having done *only good to Herát*, and we feared no ill that could befall us; especially as we knew that to pluck even a few hairs from a lion's tail was somewhat dangerous."

At this time it was no secret in Herát that the Wuzeer was only waiting his opportunity to seize the officers of the British Mission. He lived utterly in a state of intoxication; and the prospect of seizing and plundering their property, was seriously discussed by himself and his drunken associates, as the easiest way of replenishing his coffers.

The Envoy, seeing that nothing could be gained by remaining at Herát, and that a catastrophe would involve the Government

* See Kaye's "*Life of D'Arcy Todd.*" Login's Notes.

in serious complications, decided to retire, and accordingly the mission left, and they had scarcely gone when the Residency was sacked and pillaged by a howling mob, headed by the Wuzeer's own soldiers. Chapter II. 1839-40.

A good deal of private property had been sacrificed; as a large baggage guard could not be provided, many valuable papers and diaries were left behind.

# CHAPTER III.

## CANDAHAR AND CABUL.

Chapter III. 1840-41.

THE departure of the mission from Herát is thus described by Login :—

Our party, under Major D'Arcy Todd, consisting (with the escort commanded by Sirdar Futteh Khan) of about 300 persons, passed unmolested through the Herát territories, by ordinary marches, receiving marks of good will and respect from the inhabitants, but on reaching the Candahar frontier we found that Aktar Khan, a Dourani chief, was on the watch to intercept us with a considerable force; we therefore determined to conceal our route.

With this view, we turned out quietly during the night from our encampment at Dilaram, and pursued our march.

Accompanied by Sirdar Futteh Khan, who was in the secret of our councils, and whose conduct always gave us cause to trust him, I pushed on with an advance party of horsemen, a little in front of the main body under charge of Major Todd, until early dawn, when we made a rapid advance to take possession of the first set of wells, which we were apprehensive might be held by a party of Aktar Khan's men.

Finding these, however, unoccupied, the advanced party halted there until the main body came up within a sufficient distance to secure them, when it again pushed on to occupy

another small pool in the same way, and thence reached the appointed halting-place, a distance of fifty miles from Dilaram, where it waited the arrival of the main body. Chapter III. 1840-41.

Halting only a sufficient time for a slight refreshment to men and animals, the order of march was again formed as on the previous evening; but as it was considered dangerous to show any lights for fear of attracting the notice of the Afghans, much difficulty was experienced in finding the proper pathway, and heavy clouds having for a time obscured the stars by which he guided us, our one-handed *cossid*—a man well known in these parts for his wonderful intelligence as a guide—actually had to *feel* for the trodden path on the surface of the desert, and so found it. By occasionally sending back a horseman from the advanced party communication was kept up with the main body during the night, but as soon as day dawned our advance was pushed on more rapidly.

On approaching some broken ground near the "Houz," said to be a favourite *rendezvous* of Beloochi marauders, and likely to be occupied by Aktar Khan's men, our advance was made with great precaution, covered by files of horsemen in front and on our flanks. A signal being made from our right flank, and a horseman riding in to report that a large number of saddled horses were to be seen in a ravine near the Houz, we immediately prepared for action in the Afghan style. *Chogas* (cloaks) were put in saddle-bags, *kummerbunds* (waist-belts) were tightened, turbans firmly bound, loose sleeves turned up, arms bared to the elbow, and matchlocks and bucklers unslung! The signal of the horseman had been observed by the main body, about a mile distant, and we were shortly joined by a party detached in support. They came up at full gallop similarly prepared, each man wishing to appear a very Roostum.*

Thinking it strange none of our horsemen from the front had

* Famous Persian hero.

Chapter III. 1840-41.

fallen back, the broken ground preventing our seeing them, I proposed to the Sirdar to ride on with him to ascertain the cause; and on descending a ravine we came suddenly in view of a *kafila* of *asses*, laden with corn and butter from the Helmund, on its way to Bukwa, escorted by many Afghans on foot! They had just been laden when seen by our vedette, and in the haze of the morning mistaken for horses.

After passing through the ravines, and again emerging on the level desert, our main body closed up, and we proceeded together to Ghirishk, having safely accomplished a distance of upwards of 100 miles with only a few hours' halt, though hampered with camels and other slow-travelling animals.

It was afterwards reported that we had got over our difficulties only just in time, a detachment from Aktar Khan having been sent to intercept us, but arriving too late.

Lord Auckland blamed Todd for not being conciliatory enough, and thus precipitating a rupture; but men accustomed to deal with Orientals in a semi-barbarous state know that they only respect those they fear, and Yar Mahomed naturally thought that want of power to punish, was the cause of his insults and treachery being rewarded with money.

From Candahar, Login writes to his sister, Mrs. Beatton, as follows:—

CANDAHAR, *April 25th*, 1841.

. . . . You will probably see mention of the departure of the mission from Herát in the papers. It has already caused much discussion in India, and Lord Auckland is highly displeased with Todd for having adopted this measure. It must no doubt

seem very extraordinary to His Excellency that a man should be so blind to his own interests as to act towards us as Yar Mahomed has done; and I can even understand his being doubtful whether Todd, under the circumstances, has been sufficiently conciliatory. Chapter III. 1840-41.

Lord Auckland will, however, find ere long that Yar Mahomed is *not to be won by conciliation*, that to have influence over him *we must command*. Everything which conciliatory manners could do towards retaining our position *with honour* was done.

To have yielded one single iota more to the demands of such a man would have been unworthy of the British name and character, and would have lowered us in the estimation of Central Asia.

Lord Auckland may be laudably anxious to avoid the necessity of marching troops to such a distance; but our hesitation to do so *after what has occurred* will be construed into weakness by these people, and make them even more arrogant.

I have not the least doubt that were 4,000 men and a few guns sent at once against Yar Mahomed, he would immediately submit, and we should have no more trouble with him. It tries one's patience to think of it, when one might so easily put them down. I have been waiting here in hopes of a force being ordered towards Herát; but as there seems now little prospect of it, I shall start to-morrow for Cabul on my way to India.

I have heard from the Residency at Lucknow that I am to be appointed there permanently; I shall, therefore, endeavour to make my way there as quickly as possible.

. . . . Let me see! Any more news? Yes! You have heard from me of Stoddart's captivity in Bokhára, where he has been most cruelly treated by the Ameer.

He might have made his escape if he wished; but being a chivalrous man and anxious only for his country's honour, he would not avail himself of the opportunities purposely offered him, and determined, it is said, not to leave the place until ample

Chapter III. 1840-41.

apologies were made for the insult shown to a British representative.

This bold tone on Stoddart's part, the influence which Shakespear has established over the Khan of Khiva, and the friendly manner in which Conolly has been received by the other Turkoman (Usbeg) state Kokán, has brought the Ameer to his bearings, and induced him to pay the utmost attention to Stoddart, whom he now consults on everything.

Stoddart, instead of being anxious about his *own* liberty, is arranging the release of all the Khan's prisoners (Russian) at Bokhára.

Nothing you see like working on the fears of these rascals! Thrash them first to their heart's content is our only policy, *then* they will be in a fit condition to *appreciate* conciliation and forbearance!

If Lord Auckland should, after all, determine on moving a force on Herát, I think I shall almost be tempted to return from India to join it. We have done our utmost to do these people good, and spent money in great abundance for that purpose; but the greatest boon we could confer on Central Asia would be to *show our power* by removing Yar Mahomed and his myrmidons from authority.

We should then find our efforts at *conciliation* fully appreciated, and, without doubt, most successful. However, I doubt Government being prepared for such a bold measure.

Your most affectionate

JOHN.

As all further attempts at conciliation seemed only to have a bad effect on Yar Mahomed, there is no doubt that Major Todd adopted a wise course in withdrawing the mission before any overt insult had been

offered, thus leaving Lord Auckland free to adopt any line of policy he might think expedient. For this step, however, he was not held excused by the Governor-General, who, before he even received Todd's explanation of his reasons, declared him unfit for political employment, and remanded him with disgrace to his regiment. Chapter III. 1840-41.

When the mission left, Yar Mahomed became greatly alarmed; he had never believed that he would be taken at his word, and he now trembled at the probable consequences; but in this extremity his proverbial good fortune did not forsake him. When he expected nothing less than the advance of a brigade of British troops across his frontier, he was delighted by the receipt of two friendly letters, assuring him of the high consideration of the British Government, and of their deep regret that anything unpleasant should have for a time estranged their very faithful friend! To give him a better opportunity to explain his conduct, the Government disavowed all the late proceedings of Major Todd, and begged that the Wuzeer would favour them with his own statement of the case! And greater effect was at the same time given to these conciliatory letters, by our small force being withdrawn from the Helmund to Candahar, leaving the Dourani again at full liberty to renew his rebellious proceedings in Zemindawar.

Satisfied by these conciliatory overtures that he had no immediate cause to apprehend an attack, and that

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the British Government were as anxious as ever to retain his friendship, Yar Mahomed put the letters from the British Government in his pocket, and replied that he could give no answer to them until—through his brother, whom he had sent to Teheran—he received the commands of the "*Imperatur-i-Rus!*"

During his stay at Candahar, Login wrote the following letter to Todd:—

CANDAHAR, *April*, 1841.

Although aware that any expression of my opinion, as to your conduct towards the Wuzeer and chiefs of Herát, can be but of little service; I consider it a duty, which under present circumstances I owe to the cause of justice and to you, to offer it at your request.

Having had very favourable opportunities during the last eighteen months of observing your conduct towards the Herát authorities, I can have no hesitation in stating, that it has been marked throughout by the utmost desire to secure their friendship; and that your anxiety to gain their good will, has on many occasions led you to carry your efforts far beyond the limits which, in my opinion, ought to have been assigned them. Judging, indeed, from the character of the Wuzeer and his chiefs, it is my *firm belief* that your evident anxiety to conciliate them, and the necessity imposed on you of overlooking many just causes of offence, have led them to attach too high a value to their friendship; and that had a less conciliatory tone and more commanding line from the first been adopted, your efforts to secure British influence at Herát might have been more successful. With regard to your personal intercourse with the Wuzeer, it has always been of the most friendly nature, and I have frequently heard him and his principal advisers express their obligations to

you for the lenient consideration with which you treated him and your readiness to exculpate any part of his conduct which appeared dubious. So convinced was he of these obligations, that he studiously avoided meeting you for some time before our departure from Herát, lest personal friendship, *as he stated*, should induce him to forego all the schemes which false ideas of his power had led him to entertain, or make him acknowledge the justice of your advice. Chapter III. 1840-41.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging my sincere regret for having on several occasions expressed myself to you very freely on your great leniency to the Wuzeer. The evidences of his tyranny, of which my duties made me a daily witness, and the knowledge thus acquired of the people's sentiments towards him, had led me at an early period to the opinion that the uncontrolled power and influence of Yar Mahomed Khan were incompatible with the happiness and welfare of his subjects, and had induced me to believe that his removal from power would be esteemed the *greatest benefit* which British benevolence could bestow on the people of Herát. In this opinion, I need not say, I am more than ever confident.

J. S. Login.

In his "*Caravan Journey*" M. Ferrier gives a very amusing account of an interview with Yar Mahomed, who was then virtual King after Kamrán's death. He evidently believed M. Ferrier to be an Englishman, sent to open up negotiations with him, and he urged him to declare his mission as he was quite ready to treat. He said that during Todd's mission he had lived in fear of his life from the old drunkard, Shah Kamrán, (!) whom Todd was instigating against him; but that now all authority centred in himself, and

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that his view of the matter was "pay me well, and I will be your humble and devoted servant."

What I heard and saw in Afghanistan (says General Ferrier) gave me the most profound conviction that the moment the British flag is seen in an Asiatic State the shameless government in force under a native ruler is replaced, if not by abundance, certainly by security and justice. However burdensome the taxation of the English may be, it is always far less so than that extorted by native princes, who add persecution to rapacity. . . . . The Sirdars, Mollahs, Syuds, and soldier classes, who live by plundering the industrious inhabitants, were always declaiming against the English, because under them they could not practise their iniquities. The people were irritated, it is true, because their prejudices had been shocked, and rose to shake off their yoke; but now they regret them. . . . . They remember with gratitude, their justice, their gratuitous care of the sick in hospitals; the presents of money and clothes when they left them cured; the repairs of their public works, and the extension of commerce and agriculture . . . . and after exhausting their praises, they would finish up by—"What a pity they were not Mussulmaun like us! we would never have had any other masters!" After hearing such expressions, is it not allowable to regret, in the name of humanity and civilization, that the British power was not consolidated in Afghanistan, whatever means might have been employed to attain that end?

Leaving Candahar in April, still in company with D'Arcy Todd, Login proceeded towards Cabul, being present at some military operations against the Ghilzies on the way, and he had the satisfaction of affording professional aid to the wounded, amongst

them his dear friend and comrade, Edward Sanders, of the Bengal Engineers, who had been with the mission during the first year in Herát. After a short stay at Cabul, being prevented crossing the Punjab by orders from Government, in consequence of the disturbances after the death of Nao-Nehal Singh, Login accompanied Major Pottinger to Kohistan, and whilst there wrote the following letter to his sister:—

CHARIKAR-KOHISTAN, *June* 21*st*, 1841.

I have been detained at Cabul by the Envoy, Government having notified to him that passage through Punjab is not safe at present; so I have come out here with Eldred Pottinger, being tired of being idle at Cabul. I shall remain some time with Maule, an old Artillery friend, who commands a regiment here. I am sitting writing this in an arbour in his beautiful garden; a lovely murmuring stream flowing round it, and, excepting the flies being very troublesome—a big fellow has just settled on my nose—exceedingly pleasant. At this moment Purwan Darrah, the site of the disgraceful affair with our cavalry last year, and the places rendered most classical by recent events, are under my eyes. Nor do recent events only contribute to render this place historical. Within eight miles are the ruins of a Bactrian city, Alexandria, whence coins innumerable are to this day dug up. I have been collecting some, but so many have already been sent to England that I fancy they are no longer rare. Here, also, are places celebrated in the history of Baber, Emperor of Hindostan. Altogether, it is a beautiful country. As Alexander Burns said to me when describing it one day—"Above, the Alps, Hindoo Koosh! below me, Lombardy!" and certainly it realizes the description.

I must confess that were it not for other great advantages

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attending an Indian appointment, I should much prefer remaining, as I might do, at Cabul. Within three miles of the Residency and cantonment is a fine large lake, on which there are now two boats built by Lieut. Sinclair of H.M. 13th Light Infantry, a Caithness man from near Thurso, and considering that no Cabul carpenter (*mistree*) had ever before seen a boat, they are certainly most creditable to Lieut. Sinclair as a boat-builder. Sinclair himself was, however, the only man that could manage them until I arrived, and, as you may imagine, was not a little delighted to have an Orkneyman to cope with. We have had many pleasant cruises on this same lake of Cabul; rather odd that an Orkney and Caithness man should be having races and matches in boat-sailing in such a place! Sinclair was born within sight of Hoy Head, has been in Long Hope, St. Margaret's Hope, and Scapa Floe, but never in Stromness. He, however, knows the merits of the Stromness boats built by the Wards, the Moores, and Louttets. He is a great favourite with his regiment. . . . .

Login was recalled by the Envoy and Minister to Cabul from Kohistan, to take the place of John Conolly as private secretary, *pro tem.* Conolly was sent to Candahar, and Login was fully occupied by Sir W. Macnaghten till he started with Todd for India, proceeding by raft down the Cabul river from Jellalabad to Attock, and marching across the Punjab in September, 1841, very shortly before the insurrection at Cabul broke out.

Before parting from Todd, the following official letter was addressed to him by his late chief:—

MAJOR D'ARCY TODD, *Political Envoy at Herát,*

*to* J. S. LOGIN, M.D.

CAMP, NEAR ATTOCK, *August*, 1841.

SIR,

. . . . I take this opportunity of thanking you for the very zealous and able manner in which you not only performed your duties at Herát, but exerted yourself in carrying into effect the benevolent intentions of Government towards the inhabitants of that place. Indeed, I may truly say that had it not been for your kind assistance I should have found it impossible to give full effect in this respect to the views of Government. I have, as you are aware, already brought to the notice of the Envoy and Minister at Cabul the numerous duties which you took upon yourself at Herát, the main object of which was to apply judiciously the means placed at our disposal by Government in relieving the wants and alleviating the miseries of the distressed inhabitants of Herát. I need only say there is *scarcely an individual* in that city who has not reason to be grateful *for your unwearied assiduity, kindness, and patience;* and the effect of your zealous and philanthropic exertions has been to establish in Herát, and to diffuse throughout the neighbouring states, the fame of British humanity and liberality. It was from the high sense which I entertained of the value of your services, and from the difficulty which I felt certain would be experienced in supplying your place, that I requested you might be detained at Herát, when in February, 1840, you were appointed to the staff of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

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I was aware that your detention at Herát would entail upon you some pecuniary sacrifices, I hoped that this would be made up to you by an increase to your salary. I have been disappointed

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in this hope, and I have also to regret the losses which you have sustained on the sudden departure of the mission from Herát.

I have, &c.,

E. D'ARCY TODD,

*Late Political Agent, Herát.*

J. S. LOGIN, ESQ.

Soon after joining his appointment at Lucknow as Residency-Surgeon, the storm burst in Afghanistan, and the insurrection at Cabul thrilled the hearts of all the English in India.

The following letter from Havelock at Jellalabad, urging the need of chaplains with the army, is interesting :—

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK *to* DR. LOGIN.

JELLALABAD, *Dec.* 14*th*, 1841.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have just seen it announced in the paper that you had arrived at Agra and were to proceed to Lucknow. You will have heard that we have had a grand crisis here in Afghanistan, which can hardly be pronounced to be over, though the symptoms have become decidedly more hopeful.

I should define the affair to be a struggle of the Chiefs to maintain their power to misrule, of which they dreaded the annihilation; of certain tribes, especially the Eastern Ghilzies, to revenge the wrong of the reduction of their stipends; and, finally, of the whole people to get rid of the Feringhees.

The facts are, that Sir Robert Sale's Brigade, with its

auxiliaries, having been moved down towards Tazeen and Gundumuk, with the double purpose of freeing the passes and retiring to the provinces, that opportunity was seized to spring the mine of a Cataline plot. Sir A. Burnes was assassinated with all our adherents in Cabul, and our troops driven by the force of a general insurrection to confine their efforts to maintaining themselves on the two points of the Bala Hissar and the intrenched cantonment. This they are yet successfully doing, and I trust, by God's blessing, will continue to do until reinforcements arrive. Chapter III. 1840-41.

Sir R. Sale's force, to which I was temporarily attached with General England's sanction, fought its way inch by inch to Gundumuk, and on the news of the general outbreak, retired on this place, which it has made too strong for any Asiatic force without artillery to get at any price. It has twice sallied, and utterly defeated its assailants in open field.

This is an epitome of things here. Dawes is within these walls, and well; and we have contrived to re-establish ordinances amidst the din of arms. And having said this much, I come to a subject I have much at heart. Peruse the enclosed letter, and if you do not think this voice from Afghanistan will decidedly do harm, kindly send it on to his Lordship, whose address or whereabouts nobody here can tell us.

There may yet be time to send a chaplain up with the second reinforcement. If he can be spared, let him come at any time with troops, and the sooner the better. I trust that Todd has got safely through his journey, and that his affairs are prospering.

Believe me, dear Login, ever truly yours,

H. Havelock.

Login forwarded Havelock's letter to the Governor-General, and also wrote to the good Bishop (Daniel

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Wilson), from whom he received the following characteristic reply :—.

BISHOP'S PALACE, *Jan. 8th*, 1842.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

I read every word of your interesting letter to the Governor-General. The very first opportunity that presents itself we must and will send a chaplain. We had one in view, a kinsman of the Envoy, but he is uncertain in his movements, and I am afraid odd in his habit of mind. The Governor-General tells me he has given you Lucknow; there you will have a charming station, and when you are settled there, I shall send you my subscription paper for 200 rupees per annum for five years, which I know you will not grudge as a contributor to my new cathedral—but of this hereafter. I have not yet seen your paper about Yar Mahomed. You may rely on my doing all I can for your friend Todd with the Governor-General. How you could imagine, my dear Login, that I could forget you! No, no! I remember you, and love you as when we first met at Agra. You have never been long out of my mind, and I shall always be

Your affectionate,

D. CALCUTTA.

## CHAPTER IV.

### LUCKNOW.



It was a great delight to Login to resume the old work he had set on foot at Lucknow during his previous tenure of the appointment of Residency-Surgeon. He found that Captain Paton, the first Assistant to the Resident, had carried on the work at the Gharib-khana on the old lines on which he had established it, and he had only to resume the reins. Having so lately left Afghanistan, he was deeply interested in all that was occurring there, and his friend, Sir Robert Hamilton, Resident at Indore, kept him accurately informed of the progress of events, forwarding to him all the intelligence that could be ascertained of the fate of the prisoners, many of whom were Login's personal friends.

Before the hot weather had fully set in, the 56th Native Infantry arrived in Lucknow Cantonment, and the commanding officer, Major Hope Dick, was joined by his wife and her sister (Miss Campbell), from England. The young lady had accompanied her sister, on the death of her parents, at her eldest brother's

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request, Captain Charles Campbell, of the 42nd Bengal Native Infantry, *Buxee*, or Paymaster, at Cawnpore; and she intended to join her brother as soon as her sister was settled at Lucknow. But it was otherwise ordained, for on July 28th, 1842, John Spencer Login and Lena Campbell* were married at Lucknow, her brother coming over to give her away. The newly married couple settled down at the Residency—in the house afterwards famous as the scene of Sir Henry Lawrence's death during the memorable siege in 1857—after having spent their honeymoon at Beebeepore Palace, kindly placed at Login's disposal by the King.

The post which Login held at Lucknow was generally considered as one of the "plums" in the medical service of the Company, and as being an extremely lucrative one.

It was customary for the Residency-Surgeon to increase his pay by accepting other employment at the native Court, and by taking large fees from natives of rank and wealth in return for medical attendance. But Login had such a high sense of the dignity and honour of the British name, and of the duty which devolved upon every officer who held a position under

* Lena Campbell was the youngest daughter of John Campbell, of Kinloch, Perthshire, male representative of the Loudon Campbells; the title going in the female line to Flora Mure Campbell, only child of James, fifth Earl of Loudon. Lady Flora married the first Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India.—See "*History of the Campbells of Melfort and Kinloch*," published by Simmons & Botten, 1882, p. 64.

the British Government (especially near a native Court), to show himself entirely free from all desire of gain or hankering after "filthy lucre," that he, perhaps, went rather to the opposite extreme, and was considered Quixotic in his ideas.

To his mind, Englishmen in the service of the King of Oude, especially if they were at the same time officers of the East India Company, were already in a false position, and it behoved them to avoid anything which could endanger their independence, self-respect, or influence for good in the eyes of *any* native. Hence, though he at all times willingly gave gratuitous professional advice to natives of all ranks, privately as well as at the dispensary and hospitals, he had, perhaps, an over-scrupulous dislike to ask fees from them, but he often instead took the opportunity to urge and encourage his wealthy native patients to assist in promoting useful works in their native city and its neighbourhood. One native friend, Azimoolah Khan, Derogah to the King, who was greatly indebted to him, spent a large sum at his suggestion in opening up a street from the heart of the crowded bazaar to the old bridge of boats over the Goomtee, greatly adding to the healthiness of the city.

Thus, though his professional services were more sought after by the nobles than those of any of his predecessors, he derived little personal advantage; still he had the honest satisfaction of knowing that, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, he did more

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for the public good and for the poor of the city than any who had held the appointment before him.

After his marriage, the eagerness of his native friends that Mrs. Login should visit their zenanas was great, and her opportunities of insight into the manner of life of ladies of the highest rank were unique.

When she became intimate with the wives of the King (Malika Geytee, in particular) a special request was always made when they were ill that she should accompany her husband, on the ground that she would be able to describe symptoms and appearances more fully to him from her observations, as of course *he* was not permitted behind the *purdah!**

The scene sometimes was very comical. The patient was brought close to the curtain to answer the doctor's questions, a large hole being made for the purpose of feeling the pulse; but when it came to the operation of getting the lady's *tongue* through the hole, in such a way as not to exhibit her face, it was often too much for the gravity of the visitor, in spite of the air of solemnity and dignity with which the eunuchs supported their mistress, and opened her

* Login had a great dislike to any underhand way of teaching Christianity in the harems, and thought that, unless with the full consent and approval of the husbands, there should be no tampering with the religion of their wives. He placed more faith in the effect of a good life, and a character for strict integrity and truthfulness, in those who bear the name of Christians, and believed that no blessing could rest on work, which gained the women of India at the expense of the respect of the men.

mouth for the purpose, though even their features sometimes relaxed into a broad grin!

The Wuzeer Ameenoodowlah's only child (a daughter) was supposed to be dying of consumption, and her death was daily looked for, all the wise women and native *hakims* having given her over, after trying all their cures and spells to no effect. The Wuzeer was in great distress and grief, for although only a girl, she was his only child. Dr. Login asked to see the little girl, and on closely examining her, he found that her whole skin was encrusted with a coat of armour, formed by the unguents and ointments that had been successively rubbed on by each new adviser called in, without removing by washing the previous application (washing during illness being looked upon as fatal); thus the pores of the skin could not act, and unless this could be secured it was no use ordering remedies.

He suggested a warm bath first, which terrified them all, and a great wailing of women and eunuchs ensued! After a time, the Begum, listening to his persuasions through the *purdah*, consented, *if only* the Mem-Sahib would come and see it properly carried out in the zenana.

She came therefore, taking her Mussulmauni *ayah* with her, and a supply of soft towels, scented soap, and sponges. The poor child was very weak, and great care and tenderness was exercised before the hard shell could be softened enough to come away, and show what

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the little Begum, Wuzeeroolniza, was really like, without the husk or shell she had been encased in.

Poor little mite! She was a perfect skeleton of thinness, and so weak there seemed little hope for her life.

Dr. Login said he could only undertake the case, if the child was made over to his care in the cantonments, where he was then residing, with a few trustworthy servants to carry out his orders. He knew that in the zenana, with such a number of excited slave-girls and jealous wise-women to counteract his directions, there would be small chance of a cure. The parents eagerly grasped at this chance of getting their child restored to health; and a bungalow was taken for her, with a retinue of women and eunuchs, as near as possible to the house in cantonments where Dr. Login was then residing with his family.

It was rather ludicrous to see the astonishment of the Begums and their attendants in the zenana, at the large sponge used in the bath operations. They were at first alarmed, and shrieked with fright when it filled with water, thinking it was an animal that would bite the child! but they were delighted with the gift of it, and amused themselves for hours filling and squeezing it out again, and throwing it at each other amid peals of laughter! The scented soap was also a great delight to them.

The recovery of the child, though tedious, owing to her weakened state, was wonderfully rapid when she was once removed out of the hot city to the purer air

in cantonment, and under the doctor's eye as to food, air, exercise, and amusement.

It was an amusement to her to learn to read and write with the Mem-Sahib, whom she always afterwards called her "mother."*

The Chota Begum was an object of great curiosity and interest, to all the English children in cantonments, as she took her daily drives morning and evening in a gorgeous chariot, in the form of a peacock, painted to represent the bird with tail outspread, under which she sat, attended by her zenana guards.

This most enviable carriage was presented to the Login children when the little lady became convalescent.

One morning there was a great uproar! A messenger arrived at the Residency to say that the Prime Minister, Nawab Ameenoodowlah, who had been out in the district enquiring into a case of a refractory Zemindar, had been waylaid by dacoits, attacked, and murdered, and that his corpse was being brought in. Login spoke to the excited messenger, who was one of the Nawab's horsemen, told him to dismount, go to the Nawab's house, and prepare everything to receive him. He then put some surgical necessaries in his pocket, mounted and galloped off to where the Wuzeer's camp was. Had he delayed, the Wuzeer

* Many years afterwards, when he was in England, Login received a letter from the little Begum in question (then the wife of a Nawab), commencing, "My dear *Pappa* and *Mamma*," and ending, "your affectionate daughter."

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must have bled to death from his wounds; as it was, Login met a mournful procession of the Nawab's people, carrying home, as they believed, their master dead. He recovered, however, after long and anxious nursing and attendance, and was ever after truly grateful for his life at Login's hands. His right arm had been nearly hacked off, and he was otherwise fearfully wounded; but his arm was saved in the end, and, to his delight, he could again use his sword and gun.

Many were the odd expedients resorted to by some of the nobles, to express their gratitude and appreciation of Dr. Login's professional services. One morning, during her husband's absence, Mrs. Login was informed that a messenger from the Palace requested an interview. A stately *chobedar* in the royal livery, scarlet and gold, carrying his golden mace (*chobe*), made his salaam, and pointing to the entrance gates, where stood a splendid barouche and pair, informed her, with all the graces of Oriental language, that this was presented to her by the Wuzeer, by the King's special desire, as he thought it was most suitable from its style, to carry the wife of so distinguished a gentleman as the Doctor Sahib, who was so considerate to all, and "the protector of the poor."

The lady's astonishment and consternation was great! Well did she know the equipage in question—a distinguished and much admired feature in all the Royal processions, which it invariably headed!

No doubt, it was London built, and gorgeously lined with satin and gold; but it was scarcely such an equipage as the doctor's wife would choose for her evening drive. The horses were large milk-white creatures with pink noses; and their tails, which literally swept the ground, were dyed a *brilliant scarlet*. Their pace was a sort of slow canter, lifting their feet very high, as if pawing the air, or rather, as if moving along majestically on their hind legs! This remarkable action of theirs was particularly admired in the processions—there was something so *distingué* about it! The harness, also, was all bound with red morocco, and had solid silver mountings.

It required great diplomacy to avoid offending the King and the Prime Minister by declining this present, but it *was* accomplished after making a few ceremonious visits of thanks in this magnificent turn-out, by suggesting to the King that the Royal processions would suffer, and be shorn of much splendour, by the absence of this admired carriage, and assuring both King and Minister, that Dr. Login could *actually forego* the pleasure and delight of seeing his wife driving about in this truly regal conveyance, if he could thereby attain the object he had long desired of adding to the healthiness of the city, by the opening up of a new street, and by getting the King and Prime Minister to push forward the scheme for the new road between Lucknow and Cawnpore, with its splendid bridge over the Goomtee, which had lain in abeyance since 1839.

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This was now urged on the King by the Resident, Mr. Davidson, at Dr. Login's suggestion, and was agreed to by the Oude Government, Captain Hugh Fraser, Bengal Engineers, being appointed to carry out the work.

Other strange offerings were presented in lieu of fees—for instance, two baby elephants, each attended and led by a young negro slave (with nothing but a necklace of large bright beads and a waist-cloth as clothing), were sent by the King's brother-in-law after recovery from an illness. It was represented to the Nawab that Englishmen kept no slaves; but he begged that these boys, who had been born in his own harem, should be bred up in close attendance on the Mem-Sahib and her children, for whom they would be ready to die if necessary!

Although the little elephants, who were gaily painted and adorned, were as black as their grinning negro attendants, they would have proved veritable *white* elephants to Dr. Login, as in virtue of his office as A.D.C. to the King and Superintendent of the Royal Hospitals, an elephant establishment was already kept up for him at the King's expense.

On another occasion, two huge Persian cats, male and female, more like small cheetahs, or hunting leopards, each chained to a separate miniature *charpoy*, carried on the head of an attendant keeper, were sent by a grateful patient, a cousin of the King's, as *playmates for the children:* As, however, their food was

raw flesh, and they were allowed to kill and eat, they would not have been safe companions; indeed, they did not seem much more amiable than tigers! Chapter IV. 1842-48.

It was surprising how the Gharīb-khana cleared the streets of beggars, who had been a great pest. Children were made to see that it was better to learn to work for a livehood than to beg. Many boys from the Gharīb-khana were placed out in situations, and made some of the best servants in Lucknow and throughout Oude.

The hospital drew so many patients that Dr. Login was obliged to apply for a qualified sub-assistant surgeon (native) from Calcutta, to help in the work.

Cases of snake-bite and of cholera were of constant occurrence. The patients were brought in from the surrounding districts in numbers, and as they invariably preferred to be carried to the Doctor Sahib's house first, there was frequently of a morning to be seen at the entrance gates, a ghastly assemblage of poor wretches writhing in agony in the *doolies* or on the *charpoys*, on which they had been conveyed from distant villages; sometimes, alas! expiring before they reached their harbour of refuge.

In Login's time there occurred only one of those extraordinary cases of so-called "wolf children"—*i.e.*, children carried off by wolves when infants and suckled with their cubs—of which there have been several known in Oude.

In this instance, the child, who was found in the

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district near the Terai,* appeared to be about four or five years old. The body was covered with soft hair, and though undoubtedly human, it was very animal in its instincts and ways. It walked and ran on hands and feet, and could only utter a sound or cry like an animal. It was looked after carefully, but still managed several times to escape to the woods. In spite of all efforts to coax it, it refused food, and soon pined and died in captivity.

Colonel Low, the Resident, Login's kind friend, knowing how anxious he was to get his next brother an appointment, exerted his influence to this effect, and an assistant-surgeoncy was offered him and eagerly accepted.

James Dryburgh Login, after taking his degree of M.D. in Edinburgh, had walked the hospitals of Paris and Vienna, and was looked upon as a surgeon of great promise. He was appointed to an European regiment on his arrival in India, and was only able to pay a flying visit to his brother *en route* to the frontier, where his regiment was stationed.

John Login being now able to offer a home to his sisters, after their mother's death, which took place while he was at Herát, two of them came out to him, and married respectively Colonel—afterwards General—Joseph Graham, Superintendent of the Thuggee

* Large district of jungle and swamps on the confines of Oude and Nepal, the resort of tigers and all sorts of game.

Department, and Captain—afterwards General—Alfred Wintle, Bengal Horse Artillery. His youngest brother Tom, after practical training at home as a civil engineer, he brought out, and through Mr. Thomason's interest got him appointed under Colonel—afterwards Sir Proby—Cautly, who was then commencing the Ganges Canal. He proved himself to have talents of no mean order in his profession; he rose to great distinction as an engineer, and died some years ago Superintending Engineer of the Punjab (Second Circle). Chapter IV. 1842-48.

Patrick Vans Agnew was one of the assistants to the Resident at Lucknow, and a great friendship grew up between him and Login; after he left they corresponded frequently, until Agnew's melancholy death by assassination at Mooltan.

The King of Oude had several English officers and gentlemen in his service, besides those in his military employ. Colonel Wilcox (Trigonometrical Survey) was Astronomer to the King, and Mr. George Beechey (son of Sir William Beechey, Royal Academician) was his painter, and had to take portraits of the Governors-General and Commanders-in-Chief for the King's gallery.

These gentlemen had always been treated with great distinction by Mahomed Ali Shah; but when he was succeeded by his son, Wajid Ali Shah—who was afterwards deposed by Lord Dalhousie—a marked difference began to display itself. The young King was anxious

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to show his courtiers that these Englishmen were merely his servants, who could be treated with arrogance and contempt. This was felt very galling by the Englishmen, who were unable to take notice of it, as they knew it would be seized on by the King's favourites as a means of getting rid of them. Matters came to a climax when, instead of the customary courteous invitation from His Majesty to attend some grand public function at Court, a circular invitation was brought, with only the names of the gentlemen invited on the outside of the envelope in a column, with space opposite each for their signature in token of acceptance.

Login's name headed the list, in virtue of receiving pay from the King as Superintendent of Hospitals. Instead of signing his name, he confiscated the paper, and took it straight to the Resident, Sir George Pollock, who made a special representation to the King on the subject. His Majesty was quite alarmed at this unexpected turn of affairs, and ordered an ample apology to be made, decreeing that the title of "Bahadoor" was henceforth conferred on "Login Sahib," and a huge silver seal, set with stones, was ordered to be engraved with his name and *title*, to be used as his seal, and always to be attached by him to any paper he might send to the King. A day was appointed for his reception at the Palace, to have his title and seal presented, with a *khillut*, or dress of honour.

Instead of losing influence by this independent course, he was more highly appreciated than ever. Chapter IV. 1842-48.

The King's public dinners, followed by entertainments of nautches and fireworks, were always a great amusement to strangers. These dinners were more breakfasts or tiffin, being given during the day. Every sort of delicacy was provided, and the King himself had some special dish served up for him. It was considered a great mark of Royal favour to have a portion from this dish sent round to some favoured guest.

On one occasion, after a *khillut* had been presented to Dr. Login, before the dinner, for some special reason, the King took it into his head to show a public mark of his approval, and taking up a *handful* (!) of *kabobs** and rice, which he was eating, placed it on a plate and sent it round with his salaam to Mrs. Login, who, it is to be feared, did not fully appreciate this delicate attention!

The eyes of all the assembly were fixed on her, for of course she was expected to eat the dainty thus *honoured by the royal hand!*

A crowd of servants stood behind the royal chair, each having his separate office. One waved the regal *chowree* over his master's head to keep off the flies; a second, the royal *punkah*, or fan; another bore his *hookah;* a fourth, the golden *chillumchee* and *lota;*† a

* Small pieces of meat roasted on tiny wooden skewers. † Ewer and basin.

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fifth stood by the King's side to wipe his mouth with a napkin after every morsel; a sixth lifted his glass of sherbet to his mouth; whilst the seventh held in readiness the royal pocket-handkerchief and wiped "his royal nose!"

It was etiquette that he should not appear able even to *walk about* without support, and he was lifted into his carriage like a bale of goods! This did not appear so extraordinary in the case of the old King, Mahomed Ali Shah, who was both aged and infirm, but it did strike the European community as absurd when the young Wajid Ali Shah, who had prided himself on his great activity, suddenly seemed by his accession to the throne to have been deprived of the use of his limbs. On one occasion alone did he dare to set etiquette at defiance. This was on his first visit of ceremony to the Resident. He submitted to be hoisted up the steps and into the Residency, but on taking his leave, to his attendants' dismay, he actually *ran up* the ladder to the *howdah* of his elephant, amid the applause of the Europeans present. Is it surprising that this life of inaction so rapidly produces in their sovereigns the amount of corpulence which in Oriental ideas is essential to the kingly dignity?

That Login had the faculty of gaining the hearts of his subordinates, is proved by the devotion shown by his servants to himself and his family, and the length

of years they remained in his service, following his fortunes often into strange and distant lands. Chapter IV. 1842-48.

The faithful Khalipha Ali Bux, who had been with him at Herát and Cabul, was now made Derogah of the Gharīb-khana. He took up his abode there with his *two* wives, and was indefatigable in his duties. Fatimah, the fair Heráti, was a great favourite with everybody. Khalipha used to compare himself to Jacob, with whose history he was quite familiar, and would say, with a twinkle in his eye, that whenever he saw signs of a little domestic "breeze" getting up, he threatened to send for the Doctor Sahib, and that was enough!

Hinghan Khan, the Heráti boy, had accompanied his master to India. He was a light weight, and being like most of his countrymen a splendid rider, often rode postillion with Mrs. Login's pretty phaeton, drawn by a pair of Cabulis. These animals had a most inveterate love of fighting, in which they frequently indulged, even when in harness. To cure them of this habit, an extra rein was fastened to the "off" pony, tying his head away from his fellow; but this did not prevent the "near" horse, when his rider was off his guard, making a snatch at his companion across the pole—and then the fight began. At it they went, "tooth and hoof," to the terror of the bystanders, whether at the bandstand of an evening, or on the road!

Mrs. Login became so used to it, that she would sit

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patiently till the combatants were either separated or tired out, helping Hinghan by pulling the rein that held back the "off" pony, in order to stop the fight, and save his leg from being crushed against the pole. When herself driving these animals, she was obliged to have both of them kept apart by reins. Strange that this quarrelsome disposition only showed itself after they came to India; at Herát and Cabul they lived together in one stall, and were most affectionate.

Poor Hinghan was devotedly attached to his master's children, and his gallantry and presence of mind helped on one occasion to save them from an awful peril.

The Kings of Oude used to delight in elephant fights at their entertainments, and for this purpose a certain number of male elephants were kept in a place apart from others, where they were trained and made *must* (mad or ferocious) to prepare them for these fights.

One morning, very early, the boy Hinghan Khan was out exercising his master's horse, Kamrán. On passing this place he found a terrific battle going on, between the *mahout** and a large elephant who was to fight next day at the Palace entertainment.

Hinghan only remained long enough to see the poor *mahout* thrown down and trampled to death, while the elephant rushed out, quite mad, straight through the city. Suddenly it flashed on him, that the two babies

* Elephant-driver.

of the Doctor Sahib had started for their early morning airing with the *ayah* on their elephant, and would be now on their way home, right in the track of this infuriated beast, whose trumpetting was rousing the whole city! Instead of turning home, therefore, the boy gave the rein to the Turcoman he was riding, and flew like the wind to give the alarm to the children's attendants. He met them returning about a mile and a half away, their elephant already excited by the distant roaring of the mad one, and refusing to proceed. Instead of obeying the *mahout's* goad, it stood still, quivering with rage, and trumpetting loudly, eager for the fray—for it was a large and powerful animal, noted in the *shikar* after tigers for its courage and speed,* and could hardly be induced to turn its back on the prospect of a fight. When, therefore, Hinghan appeared shouting "*Hathee! hathee! must! must!*" (Elephant! mad elephant!), and waved to the *mahout* to leave the road and strike into a by-way, it was with the greatest difficulty that the man endeavoured to follow his directions. When at length he succeeded, the *must* elephant was almost upon them, and then ensued a terrible race for life!!



It requires practice to accommodate oneself to the pace of an elephant, even when the animal is only walking, and what the motion is like when at a gallop,

* It was afterwards nearly blinded by a tiger in the Terai, when out on *shikar*.

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or in a race, is past description! Suffice it to say, that the *mahout* managed to outstrip the mad brute, whose terrific roaring seemed to strike terror into all other animals. Hinghan Khan created a diversion in every way he could, to distract the *must* elephant's attention, and would have succeeded better had not his poor Turcoman been wild with terror and unmanageable.

Throughout this mad gallop the *ayah*, though distracted with fright, yet bravely seated herself in the bottom of the *howdah*, clasping the two children with one hand, while she held on with the other. The children, fortunately, were too young to understand their danger, and were only indignant at the rude treatment and knocking about their "dear *ayah*" had sustained in trying to save them.

That Login's coolness and determination approached stoicism when his own sufferings were in question, was sometimes rather curiously illustrated.

He had been badly bitten by a horse in the hand; the brute having seized the whole thumb in his teeth, had regularly crunched the bone. Nothing would make him let go; and he kept throwing up his head out of reach, so that Login was unable to free himself. Fortunately, Mrs. Login, who was with him, had the presence of mind to pass her hand into the horse's mouth, behind the teeth, and seizing the animal's tongue, to give it a violent twist, at the same time

startling him with a blow on the nose. This manœuvre was successful in making him leave go of his victim; but the injury was already so severe, and in such a dangerous position, that it was feared *tetanus* must supervene. In view of this, Dr. Login himself made all the preparations for the amputation of his thumb; as it was his right hand that was wounded he could not perform the operation himself, and there was no other surgeon to be had. He therefore sent for his European apothecary, and gave him the most minute instructions how to proceed, and arranged that he himself would do all to assist him, short of using the actual knife. Mercifully the amputation was not found to be necessary.



General Claude Martine's* noble legacy to the City of Lucknow, the Martinière College, was inaugurated at this time, and Login was the most active member of the Board of Management.

As Honorary Secretary he drew up all the rules of

* Claude Martine, the Founder, was a Frenchman, a true soldier of fortune; he amassed great wealth while in the service of successive Kings of Oude, and at his death he left it in equal portions between the cities of his birth and adoption, Lyons and Lucknow. His splendid house, or rather palace, named Constantia, which he had built near Lucknow, he specially endowed to be a college called by his name La Martinière. Knowing that there was a risk that his master, the King, might choose Constantia as a royal residence when he died, he took the precaution to direct in his will that his body should be placed in a mausoleum underneath the house, with access through it, so as to be actually *in* the building, thus defiling it for Mahomedans. His tomb was one of the sights of Lucknow, being quite French or Napoleonic, figures large as life dressed in full uniform guarding the coffin, and a light always burning.

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the College, and had the satisfaction of setting it afloat under its first Principal, Mr. Clint—a very learned man sent out from England. He was succeeded, on his retirement after a short period, by Dr. Sprenger, a much more practical man for a new college on its trial. After Dr. Sprenger's appointment, Login had the opportunity he had longed for of securing another dispensary for the poor of Lucknow.

To effect this purpose he generously offered to give up his allowance of 100 rupees per mensem for medical duties at the College, in order that a well-qualified sub-assistant surgeon (native) might be entertained, who could perform the duties of a dispensary as well. At the same time he offered gratuitously his own assistance and advice to the person appointed. In proposing this he had in view the suggestion which he had submitted to the Secretary to Government two years before, and which was approved of, to endeavour to attach a medical class to the College as soon as it was fairly established, as it would be a great benefit if some of the students could have the opportunity of being trained in the medical profession.

On Henry Lawrence being appointed to the post of Resident at Nepal, he came with his wife and little boy Alick (Tim) to pay the Logins a visit on his way to Khatmandoo. Lawrence's energetic character found a ready response in Login, and the two friends were perfectly happy during this visit in conceiving and

carrying out all sorts of schemes for improving the condition of the natives, and for stirring up the indolent nobles and opulent merchants to a sense of their responsibility to their poorer brethren.* Chapter IV. 1842-48.

Lawrence at that time was writing articles for the *Calcutta Review*, of which Kaye was editor, and he urged Login to do the same. Observing that the idea of improving the means of carriage for our wounded soldiers in the field was exercising his mind, he got him to write several articles on that subject.†

All Lawrence's staff of servants were hired in Lucknow for the new appointment at Khatmandoo, and when he took up his abode there the intercourse between the two friends did not slacken.

Henry Lawrence's faith in Login's powers as a Postmaster was very great, and they were indefatigable in stirring up their respective native Courts, of Oude and Khatmandoo, to facilitate traffic by post and *dâk*.

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* Could those two friends have foreseen, as they sat together over their *chota hazeree* in the verandah, in the delicious cold weather mornings, after their early ride, that on a day not far distant Henry Lawrence would be carried, amid a very hail of bullets, wounded unto death, from the Residency hard by, to die on this very spot!

† Login had seen, when on active service, so much of the suffering experienced, and borne so patiently, by the sick and wounded, in the wretched *doolies* in use, that he employed his inventive powers (which were great) in perfecting a litter which would be comfortable in itself and easily carried by bearers, or on the backs of elephants, camels, bullocks, or ponies. It was named "Blessière," and was found so pleasant as a conveyance that it was often used by invalid travellers going *dâk*, in preference to palanquin or *doolie*, as it allowed of change of posture.

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The Lucknow post-office became famous for its speed and punctuality, and Login received a special letter of thanks from Government, to whom he was recommended by Thomason, Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, for a special gratuity on this account; but there was some rule which prevented this being granted, though the recommendation was recorded.

Some letters of Henry Lawrence's may prove interesting:—

NEPAL, *Jan. 20th*, 1844.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have just written to Thomason about post-office matters. I have asked him if the report is true that I hear, that he is to appoint a young civilian to the Postmaster-Generalship? I said he ought in justice to the country to give the post to the best man in the department, one able to do the duty and willing to do it, and who would *stick* to the berth. I have told him there should be three grades—500, 300, and 200 rupees, and raise men of acknowledged zeal and ability, that the natives would then trust their valuable letters to us, which they don't do at present, and the post-office funds would soon pay the increased salaries.

Thomason is a queer fellow, and dislikes interference. If, therefore, he values my opinion at all he will take it best in the shape I have given it, and I heartily hope soon to see *you* in office as Postmaster-General of the North-West Provinces, for I earnestly believe you would do it full justice, and would expedite the *dâks* in a manner the slow coaches little think of. You would also make the *dâk* as valuable to the natives as it is to ourselves.

I have given Thomason numerous instances of how native letters are neglected. . . . . Our love to you both. Chapter IV. 1842-48.

Yours,

H. M. L.

NEPAL, *Dec. 19th*, 1844.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I hear from many quarters that there is every prospect of your being our new Postmaster-General.

I thought Thomason could not be so foolish as to put in a young civilian, for then it would only be temporary.

You will make a first-rate head of the department, and work up the men under you into something like your own energy and capability.

Alick has been very ill again. Oh! I wish we had your brother the medico here; I would have every confidence in *him*. The little fellow is so pulled down, and my wife is so sadly weak, that I feel very anxious. The Lucknow *ayah* is a great comfort. I hope you are busy with your "Beggar" article. Follow your own bent, and I doubt not that it will take immensely, and be very acceptable to the *Review*. Please have it ready by the end of February at latest, and any information you can give as to relief societies, and the effects of the great famine, will be very interesting.

Our Prince here has put down his papa, and has been giving me a lot of trouble. Last week they murdered (*killed, they* call it) sixteen of the opposition party, and all hands have now called the boy to the throne. Do give me a slight biographical sketch of Hakim Mhendi and Agameer, and the Treasurer, or Dewan—I forget his name—stating who and what each of them were.

Yours sincerely,

H. M. L.

NEPAL, *Feb.* 11*th*, 1845.

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MY DEAR LOGIN,

My wife has been very ill, so ill that for a week I feared for her life. To-day she is better, and I hope out of danger, but terribly reduced.

I am sorry to hear that your dear wife has been so ill. I regret much that you did not make up your minds earlier to spend your hot season with us here; it is now, of course, too late for a delicate lady to travel through the Terai, but your brother Tom might still come if you and he like the idea, and you think it is for his good to do so. I shall be right pleased to have him. Write by return, and start him off without delay, so as to reach Segowlee by the 7th or 8th of March.

He must travel *dâk*, of course, and the less he brings with him the better, beyond his clothes. It is not safe to pass through the Terai after the 15th March. I repeat my offer to give him 100 rupees per mensem, and a *moonshee* to teach him the languages, on condition that he gives me (in my own room) his time for two hours a day to write letters for me. I have books of every kind, and will be glad to assist his studies in any way. My invitation is for the whole year for certain. After that we'll launch him, and if he is *your* brother he'll find his own legs!

If he agrees, give him a copy of what I have written, that there may be no mistake between us. I limit the time to a year, because I never feel sure that I will care to remain here longer than this year.

I have heard from Thomason; he does not like my saying that his post-office arrangements are not so good as they might be. Good as he is, he has crotchets, and not a few.

He says he finds it very difficult to do always as he would like.

My dear wife will gladly undertake the office of godmother to the last arrival (remember our compact, that the next boy is to be *my* godson).

When your wife's letter reached Honoria, she was so ill that I feared much you would have need to apply elsewhere. Her illness seems very strange; certainly Dr. C—— does not understand it. I called in Prince Waldemar's * doctor, and he was so far useful in supporting C——.



Yours,

H. M. L.

NEPAL, *Aug. 9th*, 1845.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I am glad to hear you are all flourishing. . . . . I was pleased that you approved of the Oude article in the *Calcutta Review*. If I had known I would have been kept so long before printing, I would have sent the manuscript to you for revision, to be sure that I had grasped your meaning always; as it is, there are some absurd misprints. You are mysterious in what you say about Shakespear's movements. I have no wish to get Lucknow unless I were allowed full swing to carry out my schemes for the amelioration of the people; in that case I would undoubtedly accept, and as a matter of conscience consent to sacrifice my own comfort for the good of the country; but if I were employed in Oude I should certainly stipulate to have the benefit of your services. Don't you think we could make something of that fine country between us? I certainly would not have men with me who are idle lie-a-beds like ——.

I hope your young brother likes his work. I hear from Thomason that he finds him well "worth his salt" on the Ganges Canal. I am very glad, although you would not accept my offer to help him.

How I wish we had your brother James here as doctor, and also for companionship, for my rides are very lonely—only fancy

* Prussian Prince then travelling in India.

Chapter IV. 1842-48.

—never once has ridden with me since he came, though often asked! I fancy he and his wife dislike us, at least it looks like it. They are respectable people according to the fashion of the world's respectability, but their hearts are "gizzards." He has only three ideas in his head—there is no such thing as poverty in England—the English Church is purity and propriety personified, and—"Antigua." We have never any disagreement, simply we don't *milao* (assimilate); but, my dear old Login, I know you hate scandal, and I never meant to write any when I began. We don't like to see Tim grow so weedy and nervous; I don't want him to be girlish, but he has lost all courage of late. My wife begs I will give you the enclosed description of his state. Will you think it all over, and give us directions or prescriptions as you think best? My wife has such faith in you that if you take him in hand she will be at rest.

Yours,

H. M. L.

When Lawrence was sent from Nepal to Lahore to be Resident, he still kept up a friendly correspondence. Here is a letter written when preparing to go home on leave to recruit his health, sadly broken down, leaving the Punjab, as he and Lord Hardinge believed, tranquil, if not quite settled down :—

LAHORE, *Nov. 5th*, 1847.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Many thanks for your kind *chit* just received. I answer in a way at once, lest it get laid aside in the bustle. I want you to tell Tom to qualify as a surveyor, for there will be work for him hereafter in the Punjab.

I don't think it would do for Lord Hardinge to do anything just as he is leaving; but I think that his successor should do much what you propose, and I agree with you that John is the best man they could get to carry out the arrangement, and I shall tell the Court of Directors so when I get home. Chapter IV. 1842-48.

I leave Lahore on the 1st December, and go down to Calcutta. I am better, but very seedy and rickety, and want a thorough setting-up. I'll keep your secret, and advise you to write a great deal more of same sort for the *Delhi Gazette*. I thought the article *very good* and very like *you*—certainly not written by Delhi folks. The paper wants a little help; a little would enable it to floor that scoundrel at Meerut. I trust that Mrs. Login's health holds out. My kindest regards to her and you.

Yours,

H. LAWRENCE.

Previous to this Lawrence had succeeded in getting Login's brother, James Dryburgh, appointed to be Residency-Surgeon at Nepal, where he remained after Lawrence was appointed to the Punjab frontier on the breaking out of the war. The young surgeon's influence over the Minister, Jung Bahadoor, was remarkable. He inspired him with a great desire to go to England to judge for himself what sort of people they were who ruled India.

Jung Bahadoor applied for permission to Government, that Dr. James D. Login should be permitted to accompany him to England and to visit the Continent of Europe.

The permission was granted; but before the informa-

Chapter IV. 1842-48.

tion reached James Login he was dead, having been attacked by cholera at Dinapore, and carried off after a few hours' illness. It was brought on by exposure to a fierce sun on the river, working and superintending the fitting-up of a boat to carry a patient, the wife of a friend, to Calcutta on her way to England.

It is satisfactory to know that although he was not permitted himself to carry out his desire to open Jung Bahadoor's eyes to the power and greatness of England, yet that the visit was productive of great results, and that it was the cause of making a friend of that astute and wily native, whose friendship proved so useful in the Mutiny.

It was expected that when Dr. Login's promotion to the grade of full surgeon took place that he also (like Dr. Stevenson, his predecessor) would be permitted to remain in the appointment of Residency-Surgeon until there was a vacancy for him as Postmaster-General. No doubt this would have been the case had either of his former chiefs, Low, Nott, Pollock, or Davidson, been the Resident, for they would have applied for him. Login himself, on principle, always acting on the belief that the Government knew best who was the fittest man for a particular office, had made it a rule never to *ask* for anything. It happened however, that the Resident and his first Assistant had taken offence at Dr. Login, because on public grounds he (as a member of the Council of Management and Secretary) opposed their wish to appoint a very unfit man

as the Sub-Assistant Surgeon in charge of the Martinière Dispensary. Colonel Richmond took the extraordinary step, as soon as he saw Login's promotion in the *Gazette*, of appointing another Assistant-Surgeon till his successor was gazetted, and ordered the native Sub-Assistant Surgeon to take charge at once of the King's hospitals, thus virtually ousting Dr. Login.

This appointment, when sent up to the authorities for confirmation, brought down a severe rebuke on the Resident, who was told by the Governor-General that the appointment was a most improper one; he had, therefore, himself to pay to his nominees the allowances he tried to deduct from Dr. Login.

Login had arranged to send home his wife and children when he became full surgeon. And had it not been for the disturbed state of the Punjab at the time, he would have taken furlough and gone home with them; as it was, he applied to be sent on active service with the army then assembling.

He was again appointed to the charge of the Horse Artillery, and joined the 6th Battalion at Deenanuggur, under Brigadier Wheeler, in the autumn of 1848.

# CHAPTER V.

## THE SIKHS.

Chapter V.

THE Punjab, or Land of the "Five Rivers,"* was first known to Western nations as the kingdom of Porus. The Greeks under Alexander, who defeated that monarch, gave to the country he ruled over the name of "India." This name later ages extended to those vast territories which lie betwixt the Indus and the Irrawaddy, and stretch from Cape Comorin to the farthest Himalayas.

The Punjab itself is about the size of the present kingdom of Prussia (including Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein), though its population is not quite so dense as that of northern Germany.† It enjoys every variety of climate, from the drifting snows of Ladakh to the dust-storms of Mooltan.‡ The products of the

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* From *panch*, "five;" *ãb*, "water."

† The total population of the Punjab, including the Native States, was, in 1881, 22,712,120. Exclusive of the Native States, it is 18,850,437. The population of Prussia is about 27,000,000.

‡ Cunningham's "*History of the Sikhs*," p. 2.

soil are equally varied, and though it is not so marvellously fertile as parts of Bengal and the basin of the Ganges, even in the days of Runjeet Singh the revenues were estimated at two and a half millions sterling, while under British rule they have nearly doubled!* The wealth of the country, however, is largely owing to its trade in shawls, carpets, and silk goods (the shawls of Cashmere and carpets of Mooltan being almost equally famous), and to its export of salt —the salt-mines of the Jhelum district forming a valuable source of revenue to the British Government. The inhabitants are of many races, the most numerous in the central plain, about the cities of Lahore and Amritsur, being the Jats—a tribe of Central Asian origin—and it was amongst these people that the Sikh theism had its birth. Chapter V.

It must not be forgotten that the Sikhs in origin were a *religious body*, and not a *race*. They were banded together, not by the ties of kindred or common ancestry, but by the ardour and religious zeal of one earnest soul searching for Divine truth, who formed them into a brotherhood of enthusiastic disciples, sworn to carry on his mission to succeeding generations, and bring all who would accept their teaching, of whatever tribe, language, or religion, from the darkness of idolatry and debased superstition,

* Gross receipts for the year ending March 31st, 1884—£4,810,825.

Chapter V.

which disgraced all the creeds of India, to the simple worship of the one Supreme Deity. Unlike the followers of Mahomed, the Sikhs made no converts by the sword.

1469. Nânuk, the founder of the Sikh religion, was born in the year 1469. The Adi Grunt'h, or sacred book of the Sikhs, which contains his writings, shows that the doctrines he taught breathe a high spirituality and truly exalted moral character. Here and there, indeed, they bear a strange and shadowy resemblance to some of the precepts of the Christian faith. Nânuk taught that God was One, Eternal, Incomprehensible, the Creator of all; that *all* creeds were to be tolerated, and *all* founders of religious systems honoured as teachers sent to reveal some portion of Divine truth; but they were on no account to be regarded as deities themselves. The Hindoo religion and that of Mahomed is thus placed on equal terms.

1695. Nânuk was succeeded by nine Gûrûs or teachers, whereof Govind* was the tenth and last. Govind proclaimed the foundation of the Khâlsa† or sacred commonwealth of the Sikhs. Caste was to be done away, and all Sikhs were equally to receive the *pahul*,

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* Govind assumed the Gûrûship in 1695.

† The word *Khâlsa* signifies "pure, special, free." According to the teaching of Govind, every Sikh, as such, was equally a member of the Khâlsa, which was regarded as the depository of Divine authority upon earth, and in whose collective body God Himself was held to be mystically present.

or initiatory rite;* the locks of the faithful were to remain unshorn, and they were told to assume the surname of "Singh" (lion). Chapter V. 1695.

Govind also formed the Sikhs into a military and political organization, and when he died, in 1708, told his followers that the mission of the appointed "Ten" was fulfilled; and henceforth the Gûrûship was absorbed in the general body of the Khâlsa. 1708.

Politically the Sikhs were divided into a number of separate "Misls" or confederacies, each headed by a Sirdar or chief. These associations are peculiarly Sikh institutions, and the name being derived from an Arabic word signifying "alike or equal," implies that they were associations of *equals*, under chiefs of their own selection. The Sirdar's portion being first divided off, the remainder of the lands and property acquired by these bands of freebooters was parcelled out among his followers—whether relatives, friends, volunteers, or hired retainers—who had followed his banner in the field, and who each took his part as co-sharer, and held it in absolute independence.†

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* The essentials for this were: 1st. The presence of five Sikhs (disciples). "Where five Sikhs are assembled," says Govind, "there is the Khâlsa." 2nd. Some sugar and water stirred together in a vessel with a two-edged dagger or other iron weapon. The candidate repeats the articles of his faith, a portion of the water is sprinkled over him, and he drinks the remainder with the exclamation, "Hail Gûrû!" See Cunningham, *Note*, p. 76.

† Prinsep's "*History of the Sikhs*," p. 28. The principal Misls were twelve in number, viz:—1. Bhungee. 2. Kuneia or Ghunneya. 3. Sooker-Chukea. 4. Ramgurhea. 5. Phoolkea. 6. Nukeia. 7. Aloowalea. 8. Dulecala. 9. Nishanwalea. 10. Krorea Singhea. 11. Shudeed and Nihung. 12. Fyzool lapoorea or Singhpoorea.

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Chapter V.

1762. It is in the year 1762 that the name of Churrut Singh, Chief of the Sooker-Chukea Misl, first rises into notice, he having then established a stronghold in his wife's village of Goojranwallah, famous in after years as the birth-place of his grandson, the renowned Runjeet Singh.

1774. When, in 1774, Churrut Singh was killed by the bursting of his own matchlock, and was succeeded in his chieftainship by his son, Maha Singh, the revenues of his Misl were estimated at three lakhs of rupees (£30,000).*

Maha Singh overthrew and slew Jai Singh, the chief of the Kuneia Misl, who had become the most powerful amongst the Sikh Sirdars, and married the infant grand-daughter of Jai Singh to his only son Runjeet Singh. That youth, therefore, on his father's death, in

1792. 1792, found himself, at the early age of twelve years, paramount chief of the Sikh nation.

1799. In the year 1799, in return for services rendered to the Afghan Shah Zuman, Runjeet Singh received a royal investiture of the city of Lahore. Thus was the first step gained towards the establishing of kingly power in the Punjab, though it was not until ten years later, that his predominance over the other Sirdars was firmly fixed, and a formal treaty entered into with the British (April 25th, 1809), in which he was acknowledged as ruler of all the Sikhs (except those of Malwa

* Prinsep, p. 39.

and Sirhind, south of the Sutlej, which were under British protection), and whereby perpetual friendship was secured between the British Government and the State of Lahore—an engagement faithfully kept throughout his life by the Maharajah. Chapter V. 1799.

Runjeet Singh left at his death (June 27th, 1839) six sons, of whom *four* were legitimate, or "acknowledged," viz., (1) Khurruck Singh, born 1802; (2) Shere Singh, born 1807; (3) Tara Singh, said to be twin-brother of Shere Singh; (4) Duleep Singh, born September 4th, 1831. 1839.

There were also two illegitimate, or "adopted," sons, viz., Cashmera Singh, born 1819; and Peshawura Singh, born 1823.

Of the "legitimate" sons, born of his wives, only two, however, Khurruck Singh and Duleep Singh, were fully acknowledged as such by the Maharajah; Shere Singh and Tara Singh having always been supposed by him, and generally believed, to have been substituted for a daughter by his first, or principal, wife, Mehtab Koür, daughter of Goorbuksh Singh, and heiress of the Kuneia chieftainship. To neither of them did the Maharajah ever show any parental affection.* Shere Singh was commonly reported to be the son of a carpenter, and Tara Singh that of a weaver.

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* *Memorandum drawn up for Her Majesty* by Sir John Login. See also Cunningham, p. 186.

Chapter V. 1839.

Runjeet Singh was succeeded by his eldest son, Khurruck Singh, whose reign lasted barely five and a half months. Khurruck Singh was of weak intellect, and the government rested entirely in the hands of his son, Nao-Nehal Singh. This Prince conspired with the famous three "Jummoo Brothers"* to murder one Cheit Singh, the favourite of the Maharajah, his father. The crime was perpetrated at daybreak on the 8th October, 1839, within a few paces of the terrified monarch, who himself died soon after (November 5th), prematurely old and careworn.

That same day retribution overtook Nao-Nehal Singh, for, as he was returning from the performance of the last rites at the funeral pyre of his father, the masonry of a gateway under which he was passing gave way, and he, together with the eldest son of Golâb Singh, who was at his side, was crushed under the ruins. The Jummoo Rajahs were, of course, suspected of causing his death, and it is possible that self-preservation may have been their motive, as they well knew that Nao-Nehal Singh had determined on their destruction.

For some time the government was assumed by Chund Koür, the widow of Khurruck Singh; but on

* Rajahs Golâb Singh (made afterwards Maharajah of Cashmere by the English), Dhyan Singh, and Suchet Singh, three brothers, who were powerful favourites of Runjeet Singh.

† See Cunningham, p. 244; also Smyth's "*Reigning Family of Lahore.*" Steinbach. Henry Lawrence's "*Adventurer in the Punjab,*" &c.

Ever affectionately
Dhuleep Singh

the 18th January, 1841, through the influence of the Jummoo Rajahs and the army, Shere Singh, the reputed son of Runjeet Singh, was proclaimed Maharajah. Chapter V. 1841.

In 1843, Rajah Dhyan Singh, who was Wuzeer, finding that his influence with the Maharajah was on the wane, conspired with two Sirdars of the Sindhanwallah family,* named Ajeet Singh and Lena Singh, to murder both Shere Singh and his eldest son, Pertâb Singh, a boy of thirteen or fourteen years. Dhyan Singh, however, gained little by his treachery, for he was murdered by his accomplices within an hour or two of his master. His death was avenged by his son, the youthful Heera Singh, who made an appeal to the army; and Ajeet Singh and Lena Singh were slain in their turn.† 1843.

Duleep Singh was then proclaimed Maharajah (September 18th, 1843), and Heera Singh raised to the "high and fatal office" of Wuzeer.‡

Duleep Singh was born in the palace at Lahore on the 4th September, 1838, about three months before the interview at Ferozepore between Lord Auckland and the ruler of the Sikhs, which preceded the advance of the army of the Indus to Afghanistan. He was at

* Descendants of Nodha, an ancestor of Runjeet Singh.

† Smyth's "*Reigning Family of Lahore*," p. 76.

‡ Cunningham, p. 271. Shere Singh had left a son (Sheo Deo Singh), then an infant of four months, and also three adopted sons.—*Memo. by Sir J. Login.*

Chapter V. 1843.

once acknowledged by the Maharajah Runjeet Singh as his son, and much attention and kindness was shown to his mother, the Ranee Jinda, or Chunda. After the death of the "Great Maharajah," which occurred when the child was about ten months old, and during the reigns of Khurruck Singh and Shere Singh, the young prince continued to reside in the palace under his mother's care, receiving but little notice from either of his elder brothers, the reigning princes, or their ministers.

Since the death of Runjeet Singh and the dissolution of the Misls, the army had been the real power in the State. Claiming to represent the Khâlsa itself, it took upon it to discuss all national and important matters, and to have the selection of the occupant of the *guddee* (throne). It maintained a rigid internal discipline in itself, as far as drill and military duties were concerned; but its relation to the Executive Government was determined by a council or assemblage of committees, composed of delegates from each battalion or regiment. These committees were termed "Punchayets," from the word *panch* (five), the mystic number of the Khâlsa, and the system is a common one throughout Hindostan, where every section of a tribe or district has its *punchayet*, or village parliament.

The Maharanee Jinda was made Regent for her son. She was a woman of great capacity and strong will, who had considerable influence with the Punchayets, being a skilful intriguer and endowed with undoubted

courage, though her moral character left much to be desired. Chapter V. 1843.

Dissensions soon broke out among the Jummoo family. Suchet Singh, the youngest of the three "Jummoo Brothers," was mortified at the ascendancy of his nephew, Heera Singh, and determined to supplant him. He broke at length into open rebellion, but was overthrown, and died, fighting to the last. Suchet Singh left no heirs, and his immense estates and wealth were the cause of much dispute later on. He had buried about one and a half million rupees' worth of treasure at Ferozepore on British territory, and this the Lahore Government claimed, both as escheated property of a feudatory without male heirs, and as the confiscated property of a rebel in arms, while the British Government contended that the claim must be pleaded and proved in a British court of justice.*

Rajah Golâb Singh had supported his nephew Heera Singh. He was the eldest and most crafty of the "Jummoo Brothers"; his wealth and territories were enormous, and this overgrown vassal was a source of serious embarrassment to the central power. He was, however, reduced to submission by the army, and obliged to pay a fine of three and a half million rupees (£350,000), which was afterwards increased to six and three-quarter millions (£675,000).

* Cunningham, p. 278.

Chapter V. 1845.

Jowahir Singh, the brother of the Maharanee, was now ambitious of power. He conspired against Heera Singh, caused him to be put to death, and himself became Wuzeer in his place; but falling under the displeasure of the Punchayets, was himself publicly shot by their order, in the presence of his sister and his nephew, the little Maharajah.

In the December of the same year (1845), the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej, and there followed what is known as the First Sikh War.

On the news reaching the capital, of the annihilation of his army at Sobraon, the young Maharajah set out for Kussoor, to offer his submission to the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge.* Some days later, at another durbar held at Lahore, Sir Henry asked to be allowed to see the famed Koh-i-noor. It was produced for his inspection, and afterwards passed round to the other Europeans present. Colonel Balcarres Ramsay thus describes the incident:—

> I arrived at the camp at Lahore, just as the Governor-General was going out with his *cortége* to meet the young Maharajah and receive his submission. There was a grand durbar afterwards, and when the Koh-i-noor was handed round for our inspection, Mr. Edwards, the Under-Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department, was put in charge of it. He was evidently extremely nervous, and carried it round himself from one staff officer to another. Just as he placed it in my hands, Sir Henry Hardinge

* Afterwards created Viscount Hardinge.

sent for him; I naturally passed it on to the next officer, but when Edwards hurried back and demanded the precious jewel, I never shall forget the agony depicted on his face, as he rushed down the ranks of staff officers, frantically demanding it! * Chapter V. 1845.

Sir Henry then, with a pleasant smile, fastened it himself on the arm of the little King, afterwards patting him on the back in a kindly manner.†

On the 20th February, 1846, the British troops entered Lahore, and the whole Punjab lay at their feet.‡ It was theirs by force of arms and the fortune of war, yet Sir Henry Hardinge had no thought of annexation. He contented himself with annexing the Jullundur Doab, or country between the Sutlej and the Beas, and demanding an indemnity from the Lahore State of a crore and a half of rupees (one and a half million sterling). This sum the Lahore Treasury was unable to produce, and the Governor-General took Cashmere and the Hill States, from the Beas to the Indus, in lieu of two-thirds of the indemnity, and transferred this territory to Rajah Golâb Singh, as a separate sovereign, for a sum of one million sterling. As, however, it was found advisable to retain 1846.

* "*Life of Lord Lawrence*," vol. i., p. 191.

† "*Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Government*," p. 71. See also "*Life of Sir Herbert Edwardes*," vol. i., p. 44.

‡ The war had cost the victors dearly in men and officers. Among *fifty-six of the latter*, who fell in the bloody fight of Ferozepore, was the noble-hearted D'Arcy Todd, Login's late chief at Herát, to whom he was attached by the closest bonds of intimacy and affection.

Chapter V. 1846.

a portion of this territory in the hands of the East-India Company, this latter sum was reduced by one-fourth, and the liquidation was rendered still more easy to the Jummoo Prince, by considering him as heir to the money buried by his brother, Suchet Singh, at Ferozepore, and which was already in the possession of the East India Company.

When it is considered, says Cunningham,* that Golâb Singh had agreed to pay sixty-eight lakhs of rupees, as fine to his paramount (and had never done so) . . . . it appears that he ought to have paid the deficient million of money into the Lahore Treasury, as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore provinces as an independent prince. . . . . His rise to sovereign power excited the ambition of others, and Tej Singh . . . . offered twenty-five lakhs of rupees, for a princely crown and another dismembered province.†

Later on (March 11th), an additional clause was added to the Treaty, to the effect that a British force should remain at Lahore till the close of the year, to protect the Maharajah and his Government while the reorganization of the Khâlsa army was in progress, but as the time approached when this force would be withdrawn, the uneasiness of the durbar, or council of ministers, prompted them to ask the Governor-General to continue to assist them in the administration of

* "*History of the Sikhs*," pp. 331-33. See also *ante*, p. 107.

† His offer, however, was rejected.

affairs, during the minority of the Maharajah, and the Treaty of Bhyrowal (December 16th, 1846) was the outcome of this request.* Chapter V. 1846.

By this new Treaty, the Punjab was placed "under the dictatorship of a British Resident, who was to have full control over every department of the State. It provided for the continuance of a British force at Lahore until the Maharajah Duleep Singh should attain the full age of sixteen, which would happen on the 4th September, 1854. The sum of twenty-two lakhs annually was to be paid by the Lahore State for the expenses of the occupation. The administration of the affairs of the country was to be continued, under the direction of the Resident, by a Council of Regency. . . . . The Ranee was to be provided with a fitting maintenance, but was by this new arrangement to be virtually excluded from any share in the government."†

By the selection of Henry Lawrence to fill the arduous and delicate position of Resident at Lahore, and virtual ruler of the Punjab, Lord Hardinge showed at once his foresight and desire to conciliate the Sikhs.

By the terms of the Treaty, the Resident was vested with supreme and despotic powers, subject only to the instructions of the Governor-General.‡ In a letter dated 3rd July, 1847, Lord Hardinge reminds the Resident that the articles of government "give to the

* See "*Treaty of Bhyrowal.*" Appendix.

† Quoted from "*Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Government,*" p. 30.

‡ "*Punjab Papers,*" 1849, pp. 35, 48, 53.

Chapter V. 1846.

Government of India, represented at Lahore by its Resident, full power to direct and control all matters in every department of the State. It is politic," he says, "that the Resident should carry the native Council with him, the members of which are, however, entirely under his control and guidance; he can change them and appoint others; and, in military affairs his powers are as unlimited as in the civil administration; he can withdraw Sikh garrisons, replacing them by British troops, in any and every part of the Punjab." * In a subsequent letter Lord Hardinge again urged on Henry Lawrence the advisability of keeping a tight hand on all native officials, and making his own personality felt in every department of the government.† The following extract from another letter of his will show what the real scope of the Treaty was, and that the Resident was to be entirely responsible for the administration of the country :—

*October 23rd*, 1847.

1847. In all our measures taken during the minority, we must bear in mind that by the Treaty of Lahore, March, 1846, the Punjab never was intended to be an independent State. By the clause, I added, the Chief of the State can neither make war nor peace, nor exchange nor sell an acre of territory, nor admit an European officer, nor refuse us a thoroughfare through his territories, nor, in fact, perform any act (except its own internal administration)

* "*Punjab Papers*," 1849, p. 18. † Dated October 23rd, 1847.

without our permission. In fact, the native prince is in fetters, and under our protection, and must do our bidding. I advert hastily to this point because, if I have any difference of opinion with you, it consists in your liberality in attempting at too early a period to train the Sikh authorities to walk alone; I wish them to feel and to like our direct interference by the benefits conferred.*

The Resident thus describes the practical working of the Council of Regency (August 1847) :—

On the whole, the durbar gives me as much support as I can reasonably expect; there has been a quiet struggle for mastery, but as, though I am polite to all, I allow nothing that appears to me wrong to pass unnoticed, the members of the Council are gradually falling into the proper train, and refer most questions to me, and, in words at least, allow, more fully even than I wish, that they are only executive officers—to do as they are bid.†

Although the Maharajah was too young to share the councils of those who ruled in his name, he was always present in state at the durbars, and all dignities and honours were conferred by his hand.

It chanced that at a grand durbar held on the 7th August, 1847, it was arranged that distinctions should be given to various Sirdars who had rendered important services. Amongst other dignities, the title of "Rajah" was to be conferred on Tej Singh, Commander-in-Chief

* "*Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, K.C.B.," vol. ii., p. 100.

† "*Punjab Papers*," 1849, p. 32.

Chapter V. 1847.

of the Lahore army, betwixt whom and the Maharanee Jinda there reigned a bitter enmity. The latter, therefore, delayed her son's arrival at the durbar for upwards of an hour, though all the Sikh Sirdars and English officers were assembled and waiting. When at length he did appear, the Maharajah refused to put out his hand to mark the forehead of the new Rajah on his investiture, and by Colonel Lawrence's orders the ceremony had to be performed by a Sikh priest.

The scene is thus described in a private letter from Lord Hardinge to Sir Frederick Currie* :—

> He resolutely played his part, tucked his little hands behind him, threw himself back in his chair, and one of the priests performed the ceremony. In the evening she (the Maharanee) would not allow the Prince to be dressed to see the fireworks. In short she is breeding him up systematically to thwart the Govt., and the English connection. I am now in *confidential* correspondence with L., and I see no remedy but to remove her from Lahore . . . . Sooner or later it must come to this, as he grows older it is our duty as his Guardians to remove him from her evil example.

For this open insult to the Resident and durbar, for which she was known to be responsible, the Maharanee was consequently separated from her son, and removed to Sheikopoora, about twenty-five miles from Lahore (August 19th, 1847).

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* Dated August 19th, 1847. *Private Papers of the late Sir F. Currie* (by kind permission of Lady Currie.)

The constant strain of work at the Lahore Residency was too much for Henry Lawrence's health, and he was obliged to return to England on sick leave, in company with his friend Lord Hardinge, whose period of office had just expired, and who was succeeded as Governor-General, by the Earl of Dalhousie, on the 21st of January, 1848.

Owing to Henry Lawrence's absence, the post of Resident at Lahore was temporarily filled by Sir Frederick Currie, but as he was not able to assume his duties till March, 1848, the affairs of the Punjab remained, in the interim, in the able hands of Henry Lawrence's younger brother, John.

Sir Henry Lawrence had left the Punjab, as he believed, in a condition of internal peace; and so little anticipation was generally felt of any serious outbreak in that quarter, that Lord Hardinge had assured his successor, on handing over the reins of government, that, so far as he could see, "it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come!"* How speedily was this fair prediction to be falsified, and these bright hopes dashed to the ground!

"The thunder-bolt fell, as it were, out of the blue sky."† Towards the end of April, the Punjab was ringing from end to end with the intelligence of the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Mooltan, and

* "*Life of Lord Lawrence*," by Bosworth Smith, vol. i., p. 245.

† "*India under Victoria*," by Captain Trotter, vol. i., p. 171.

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the revolt of Moolraj, the Dewan and Governor of the province, who had raised once more the standard of the Khâlsa, calling on all true Sikhs to join him in freeing their country from the rule of the foreigner.

There is no need to tell over again the story of that revolt. Had the military authorities, either at Lahore or Simla, shown only one tithe of the energy displayed by Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, who, with a single native infantry regiment, 300 horse, and a couple of horse-artillery guns as a nucleus, set about collecting and raising troops, defeated the Dewan in two pitched battles, and finally confined him within the walls of his own city and fortress of Mooltan, the whole rebellion might have been suppressed as rapidly as it rose, and the necessity for the Second Sikh War have never existed.*

Although by the terms of the Treaty of Bhyrowal (see Articles vii., viii., ix.), a British force was specially provided "for the preservation of the peace of the country," for whose services the Lahore Government were annually to pay the sum of twenty-two lakhs of rupees,† and although Lord Hardinge had specially arranged

* Alone, unsupported, he (Edwardes) achieved a result of which a British army might have been proud. And it is not too much to affirm, that had he been then and there supported by a few British troops and guns, placed under his own orders, he might have taken the fortress, and possibly have nipped the rising in the bud.—Malleson's "*Decisive Battles*," pp. 351, 352.

† If this sum was *not* paid annually into the Calcutta Treasury, the matter was entirely in the hands of the British Resident, who had supreme control over the revenues and finances of the Punjab. See Articles ii. and vi. of the Treaty of Bhyrowal.—Appendix.

for such an emergency, by providing a British movable brigade to be kept always in readiness at Lahore, Sir Frederick Currie hesitated on his own responsibility to order the march of that brigade. Sending instead for the Sikh Sirdars, he told them that they must put down the rebellion and bring the offenders to justice, by their own means, as their only hope of saving their Government. The astonished Sirdars, "after much discussion, declared themselves unable, without British aid, to coerce Dewan Moolraj in Mooltan, and bring the perpetrators of the outrage to justice."* Chapter V. 1848.

Some little light is thrown on this seemingly unaccountable action of Sir Frederick Currie, when we recollect that, as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and as Member of Council, he was doubtless cognizant of many considerations then influencing the new Cabinet at home, but which were unknown to the general public; and we find from a perusal of certain private letters which passed between him and Lord Hardinge,† that, as far back as April, 1847, Currie was aware that matters at home pointed more and more "decidedly to eventual annexation of the Punjab."

Believing, therefore, that any serious revolt among the Sikhs, which should necessitate the employment of British arms to suppress it, would only hasten this

* "*Punjab Papers*," 1849, p. 140.

† *Unpublished Correspondence of Sir Frederick Currie.*

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measure, Currie, in thus sending for the Sirdars, had apparently in his mind, the desire to offer them another chance for the continuance of the native Government, so far as it then existed.

The Sikh Durbar having acknowledged their incapability of coping unaided with the rebellion, Sir Frederick Currie strongly urged on the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief the advisability of the interposition of the British Government, and the immediate despatch of a sufficient force of troops and siege-guns from Ferozepore; but to this Lord Gough would not agree, and the only support given to Edwardes was a force of 5,000 Sikh troops, under Rajah Shere Singh Atareewalah.

Meanwhile, on the 8th May, a plot against the Resident and British officials was discovered at Lahore, in which the Queen-Mother was implicated. Her *vakeel*,* Ganga Ram, was one of the chief conspirators, and, together with one Kanh Singh, late a Colonel of Sikh Artillery, was convicted and hanged.† On the 15th of May the Maharanee was removed from the fort of Sheikopoora by the Resident's orders, and conveyed under escort to Ferozepore on her way to Benares. Here she remained a State prisoner for nearly a year, until removed for greater security to the fortress of Chunar. Not long after her arrival at this last place, however, she, on the 18th of April,

* Ambassador, or accredited agent. † Trotter.

1849, managed to effect her escape in the disguise of a *fakeernee*, and took refuge in Nepal, where she came under the charge of Dr. James Dryburgh Login, who was then Acting-Assistant Resident at Khatmandoo. Chapter V. 1848.

The order for the removal of the Maharanee Jinda was signed by three members of the Council of Regency, and by Golâb Singh, on behalf of his absent brother, Rajah Shere Singh Atareewalah. "The venerable Fakeer Noor-ood-deen, personal friend and adviser of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and a person greatly respected by the Sikhs generally," * personally saw to the order being carried out.

So urgent was Major Edwardes in appealing to Lahore for a few regular regiments, heavy guns, &c., offering with the help of these "to close Moolraj's accounts in a fortnight, and obviate the necessity of assembling 50,000 men in October," † that Currie, on the 1st July, on his own responsibility, and against the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, ordered the march of the movable brigade under his orders; yet

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* "*Punjab Papers*," 1849, p. 169. On her removal to Sheikopoora the Ranee's stipend had been reduced to 48,000 rupees (£4,800); on her banishment to Benares it was made 12,000 rupees (£1,200).

† "*Punjab Papers*," p. 223. I am one of those who believe to this day, and perhaps ever shall, *that had that brigade, under a fine soldier like Brigadier Campbell, marched* AT ONCE *upon Mooltan* (say on April 25th) *the rebellion would have been nipped in the bud* by the escape and surrender of Moolraj. . . . Moolraj did not rebel *because the Sikhs were ready to back him up.* The Sikhs backed up Moolraj *because the British Government did not put him down.* . . . The Sikh insurrection was *created* out of the materials collected to put down the Mooltan rebellion. —*Remarks of Sir Herbert Edwardes* (see his "*Life*," by Lady Edwardes, 1886, vol. i., p. 145, 147).

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so many delays ensued, owing to want of carriage, and references back and forwards between Simla and Lahore, that it was not until the 24th of the month that the brigade left Lahore under General Whish, and it did not reach Mooltan till the 18th August—the siege-guns only coming into camp on the 4th of the following month.

On the 14th September the siege was raised, owing to the defection of the Durbar troops under Rajah Shere Singh,* and was not resumed until the 26th December, after more than three months and a half of inaction. On the 2nd January 1849 (seven days after the siege was undertaken in earnest), the city was taken by assault; while on the 22nd the citadel was breached, and Moolraj had surrendered unconditionally.

But by this time the Punjab was in a blaze, and Shere Singh defiant at the head of 30,000 men!

This is not the place to tell over again the history of the Second Sikh War, with its surprising blunderings and bloody victories—victories won at the point of the sword, from an heroic foe driven to desperation, the Sikh Khâlsa at bay, and battling for its very existence! Suffice it to say, that on the 18th December Lord Gough crossed the Chenab with his army; that on the 13th January, 1849, with 15,000 men, he

* When Currie consulted the Sirdars, they warned him then that these troops were disaffected, and not to be depended on.—"*Punjab Papers*," p 140.

fought the battle of Chillianwallah, late in the afternoon, with darkness creeping up, and with troops who had been under arms since early day-break.* On the 21st February, having on the previous day been joined by General Whish's force, set free by the fall of Mooltan, Lord Gough retrieved all the previous errors of the campaign, by gaining the crowning victory of Goojerat, driving the Sikh army of 34,000 men, totally routed and in confusion, across the Jhelum. On the 14th March, Shere Singh, Chuttur Singh, and the rest of the Sirdars, gave up their swords, and the last remains of the Khâlsa army—to the number of 16,000 men—flung down their arms at the summons of General Gilbert, on the upland plains of Rawul Pindee.†

Thus ended the Second Sikh War, whose origin and motive we must look for in the ranks of that residue of the Khâlsa army which, contrary to the advice of the Sikh Commander-in-Chief, we retained as the standing army of the Punjab,‡ while at the same time we took from them the authority and influence they had arrogated to themselves in the government of the

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* Trotter.

† Malleson. Trotter, p 221. See also the description of this scene in Mr. Bosworth Smith's "*Life of Lord Lawrence*," vol i., p. 276.

‡ "Rajah Tej Singh said, *two years ago*, and has always adhered to the opinion, that it was less dangerous, and would prove less embarrassing, to disband them all and raise a new army, than to continue a man of them in service."—*Sir F. Currie to Government*, September, 1848.

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country, and reduced the pay and privileges they had been accustomed to fix for themselves at their "own sweet will." Discontented, sullen, and revengeful, they formed a tempting instrument, ready to hand for any turbulent and intriguing spirit, desirous of upsetting the present state of affairs, and involving the Punjab in general confusion for their own advantage.*

On this subject Major Edwardes thus wrote to the Resident† :—

> The people of the Punjab repose contentedly under the protection our courts of justice afford them against the great; and our only enemies are the Sikh army whom we spared in 1846.

A proof that the discontent was not universal is seen in the fact that the rebellion spread very slowly. Up to October 4th, no Sirdar had joined Chuttur Singh, "who was in despair at the refusals he had received from the Sikh officers at Peshawur." It was not until October, when Moolraj had been six months in rebellion, that the troops at Bunnoo and Peshawur broke into mutiny. The disaffection was throughout mainly confined to the Sikhs, who were dreading the extinction of the Khâlsa; and "a large proportion of the inhabitants, especially the Mahomedans," as Lord

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* June 22nd the Resident wrote:—The Sirdars are true, I believe; the soldiers are all false, I know.—"*Punjab Papers*," p. 220.

† August 27th, 1848. *Unpublished Correspondence of Sir F. Currie.*

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Dalhousie says in one of his despatches, "took no part in the hostilities, and had no sympathy with the Khâlsa army." Even among the Sikhs, *who form but one-sixth of the population*, there were thirty-four Sirdars, who with their relatives and dependants took no part in the rebellion. Six out of eight members of the Council of Regency remained loyal, and one of these was Bhaie Nidhan Singh, called in the official despatches "head of the Sikh religion." Sirdar Khan Singh (whom Vans Agnew was to instal as Dewan in Moolraj's place), and Guldeep Singh, the commandant of the escort, openly defied Moolraj, and were put in irons and most cruelly treated; both died in confinement. Several Sirdars and officers of the Durbar did good service throughout the war, on the British side, notably Sheikh Imam-ood-deen and Misr Sahib Dyal, who co-operated with Lord Gough's army, the latter being attached to the Commander-in-Chief's headquarters as "chief officer on the part of the Durbar;" * and the Resident, writing to the Governor-General on the 16th August, assured him that "the conduct of the Durbar, collectively and individually," had been "entirely satisfactory in everything connected with this outbreak, and indeed in all other respects for the last two months."

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* "*Punjab Papers*," p. 444. These Sikh forces are said to have numbered 20,000.—"*Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Government.*"

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Whilst the Second Sikh War was in progress, matters remained in *statu quo* at Lahore, the city being perfectly quiet and unaffected by the disturbances in the northern and western provinces. The Resident continued to exercise supreme authority, assisted by the Durbar (except that one member who had gone into open rebellion), and the little Maharajah remained in profound ignorance that any unusual events which could affect him or his sovereignty were passing in the country without.

He knew only that Golâb Singh, the son of Chuttur Singh, and his own personal companion, was suddenly removed from his attendance and placed in confinement, and that later on, the palace itself was guarded by a British regiment.*

The insurgents were proclaimed as rebels "against the Government of the Maharajah Duleep Singh," and the Resident, on the 18th November, issued a proclamation (approved by the Governor-General), telling "all loyal subjects to the Maharajah" that the British army "has entered the Lahore territories, not as an enemy to the constituted Government, but to restore order and obedience." It is addressed "to the subjects,

* This was in consequence of information received from Mooltan. "Look well," says Major Edwardes, writing on the 29th August to the Resident, "to *the person of the Maharajah*, for Shum Shere Singh says, Chuttur Singh will try to get him carried off while out riding, or at the Shalamar Gardens, and then *ask us to account for fighting against Duleep Singh, with whom we made a Treaty!*"—*Unpublished Correspondence of the late Sir F. Currie.*

servants, and dependents of the Lahore State," and all "who have remained faithful in their obedience to the Government of the Maharajah Duleep Singh . . . who are not concerned, directly or indirectly, in the present disturbances, are assured that they have nothing to fear from the coming of the British army."* Chpater V. 1848.

It will serve to give some notion of the contradictory opinions, and confusion of theories, then prevailing in the official world, if we compare this proclamation with a sentence from a despatch of the Secretary to the Government of India, written to the Resident on October 3rd of the same year, *i.e.*, six weeks previously.†

> I am desired to intimate to you that the Governor-General in Council considers the State of Lahore to be, to all intents and purposes, directly at war with the British Government, and he expects that those who may be, directly or indirectly, concerned in these proceedings will be treated accordingly by yourself and your officers.

At length, on the 30th of March, 1849, from the camp at Ferozepore, the Governor-General issued the famous manifesto, which announced that the Government of India was now resolved "on the entire subjection of a people whom their own Government has long been unable to control, and whom no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship 1849.

* "*Punjab Papers*," pp. 260, 438, 449, 562. † Ibid, p. 374.

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conciliate to peace;'" and it then became known that Mr. Henry Elliot, the Secretary to the Government of India, had been despatched to Lahore, where he arrived on the 28th of the month, commissioned by Lord Dalhousie to offer terms to the Council of Regency, on the annexation of the country to the British dominions.

## LAST TREATY OF LAHORE.

LAHORE, *March 29th*, 1849.

Terms granted to the Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahadoor, on the part of the Honourable East India Company, by Henry Miers Elliot, Esq., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, K.C.B., Resident, in virtue of the power vested in them, by the Right Honourable James, Earl of Dalhousie, Knight of the Most Ancient Order of the Thistle, one of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable East India Company, to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies; and accepted, on the part of His Highness the Maharajah, by Rajah Tej Singh, Rajah Deena Nath, Bhaee Nidhan Singh, Fakeer Nooroodeen, Gundur Singh, agent of Sirdar Shere Singh Sindunwallah, and Sirdar Lal Singh, agent and son of Sirdar Uttur Singh Kaleewallah, members of the Council of Regency, invested with full powers and authority on the part of His Highness.

I. His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh shall resign for himself, his heirs, and his successors all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever.

II. All the property of the State, of whatever description and wheresoever found, shall be confiscated to the Honourable East India Company, in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government and of the expenses of the war. Chapter V. 1849.

III. The gem called the Koh-i-noor, which was taken from Shah Sooja-ool-moolk by Maharajah Runjeet Singh, shall be surrendered by the Maharajah of Lahore to the Queen of England.

IV. His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the Honourable East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the State, a pension of not less than four, and not exceeding five, lakhs of Company's rupees per annum.

V. His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour. He shall retain the title of Maharajah Dúleep Singh Bahadoor, and he shall continue to receive during his life such portion of the above-named pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and shall reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select.

Granted and accepted at Lahore on the 29th of March, 1849, and ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor-General on the 5th of April, 1849.

(*Signed*)

DALHOUSIE—MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.
H. M. ELLIOT—RAJAH TEJ SINGH.
H. M. LAWRENCE—RAJAH DEENA NATH.
BHAEE NIDHAN SINGH.*
FAKEER NOOROODEEN.
GUNDUR SINGH
(Agent to SIRDAR SHERE SINGH, Sindunwallah).
SIRDAR LAL SINGH
(Agent and son of SIRDAR UTTUR SINGH, Kaleewallah).

* Head of the Sikh religion.

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Sir Henry Lawrence had by this time returned to his post at Lahore, having hurried out from England in hot haste on receipt of the news of the outbreak at Mooltan. Landing at Bombay in December, he lost no time in joining the camp of the besiegers—was present at the capture of the city of Mooltan, and on the 9th of January took the news of that event to the Governor-General. He then joined Lord Gough's headquarters, witnessed the battle of Chillianwallah, and proceeded on the 18th to take up his duties at the Residency.

It would be affectation to conceal the fact, that Lord Dalhousie's views and Sir Henry Lawrence's did not coincide as regards the policy of annexation, and indeed, the Governor-General's decision was a sore grief to the generous-hearted Resident, and a reversal of many cherished hopes and projects. Speaking in vindication of this dearly-loved friend of his, in after years, Login says :—

> Lawrence acted in the best faith for the interests of both Governments; and so far from desiring the annexation of the country, on finding that it could not be avoided, and that all his efforts to uphold the native Government were unavailing, he was only prevented from resigning his high position, and returning to his regiment as a Captain of Artillery, by the earnest entreaty of his friends. He remained at Lahore with the sole object of exerting his influence to conciliate the chiefs and people of the Punjab to our rule.*

* Ferrier's "*Caravan Journey*."—Note by J. S. L., p. 359.

When John Lawrence's counsel was sought as to whether the annexation *determined on* should be carried out *now*, when the people were depressed by recent defeat, or later, when they had been more perfectly subdued, he gave it without hesitation—"No delay! The Khâlsa must not be allowed again to raise it head." Chapter V. 1849.

His advice was taken, and Mr. Henry Elliot was sent to announce the decision of the Governor-General to the Maharajah and his people.

We will leave Mr. Elliot to tell, in his own words, the manner and purport of his mission*:—

Immediately on my arrival, he says, I communicated to Sir H. M. Lawrence and Mr. J. Lawrence the instructions with which I was charged, and regretted to find that both those officers were fully persuaded that the Council of Regency would on no account be induced to accede to the terms which were offered for their acceptance, inasmuch as they had already incurred great odium amongst their countrymen for what were considered to be their former concessions. I, however, requested that the two most influential members of the Council might be at once summoned to a private conference at the Residency; and Rajah Tej Singh and Dewan Deena Nath were accordingly sent for. The Rajah, at first, excused himself on the ground of sickness; and I should have, consequently, gone to his house, had I not been apprehensive that any exhibition of undue eagerness might have been interpreted into too great a desire to obtain his concurrence. It was then intimated to him that, as my mission was urgent, and could not

* Note and Report by Mr. H. Elliot.

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be accomplished without him, he should come to the Residency, unless he really was seriously ill. Upon this, he came, his looks giving no warrant for his excuses, and was accompanied by Dewan Deena Nath.

After the first compliments had been exchanged, I explained to them the purpose for which I had come, that the Punjab would be annexed to the British dominions at all events, but that it was for them to decide whether this should be done in an unqualified manner, or whether they would subscribe to the conditions which I was about to lay before them.

The Rajah, who was more than usually nervous and garrulous, opened out in a strain of invective against Rajah Shere Singh and all the rebellious Sirdars, who had brought the Council to this pass, acknowledged that the British Government had acquired a perfect right to dispose of the country as it saw fit, and recommended that it should declare its will, without calling upon the Council to sign any conditions. I replied that, if they refused to accept the terms which the Governor-General offered, the Maharajah and themselves would be entirely at his mercy, and I had no authority to say that they would be entitled to receive any allowance whatever.

The Dewan, who was much more deliberate and reserved than his colleague, commented on the severity of the conditions, and particularly on the expatriation of the Maharajah; and when I told him it was intended to exclude also the female relatives of the Maharajah from the palace, in order that the citadel might be exclusively in British occupation, he remarked that, immediately they were relieved from the restraints which their present residence subjected them to, they would begin leading licentious lives, and bring scandal upon the memory of Runjeet Singh and his descendants.

After many inquiries from them about the distance to which the Maharajah was to be removed, I observed that his destination would not improbably be the Deccan, but, after they had

requested reconsideration, on account of the remoteness of that country, "where," said they, "God knows whether the people are Hindoos or Mahomedans," I promised that the Maharajah should not be sent anywhere to the east of the Ganges, pointing out Hurdwar, Gurhmuktesir, Bithoor, and Allahabad as being all of them places of high sanctity in their religion. They seemed to be thankful for this as a concession. But they had no definite notion of the exact position of any of these places except Hurdwar. The Rajah, indeed, was astonished to discover that Lahore was not so far from Allahabad as from Benares. Chapter V. 1849.

They seemed fully satisfied with the personal allowance assigned to the Maharajah, which I told them would be about 10,000 rupees per mensem.

Other subjects were then discussed, and they enquired anxiously about their own future position. I told them that it was not intended to deprive them of their *jagheers* or salaries, and that, for this indulgence they would be expected to yield the British Government the benefit of their advice and assistance whenever they were called upon to do so; that, if they did not subscribe to the conditions, I could not promise that any consideration would be shown to them. The Dewan enquired whether the *jagheers* would be continued to future generations. I replied, certainly not, unless the grants conveyed a perpetual title; and that would be left to the decision of the officers, who would shortly be appointed to investigate the validity of all rent-free tenures.

After much more parley, during which, while I told them that they were at perfect liberty to decline, or to accede to, the conditions I had been instructed to lay before them—at the same time I convinced them of my resolute determination to yield no point, they expressed their willingness to sign the paper, and signed it accordingly, not without evident sorrow and repugnance on the part of the Dewan.

Upon this I requested that Fakeer Nooroodeen and Bhaee Nidhan Singh, the only other members of the Regency resident

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at Lahore, might be sent for; and upon informing them of what had passed, they said they would abide by whatever their colleagues were prepared to do.

They then affixed their seals and signatures to the paper in duplicate, and Sir H. M. Lawrence and myself then added our counter-signatures. It was agreed that next morning a Durbar should be held at seven o'clock, a.m., in order to promulgate the Articles subscribed to, and to obtain the Maharajah's ratification.

The members then took their leave, after the conference had lasted about two hours.

Sir J. Login, commenting on the above report in 1860, remarks :—

"It indicates feelings more creditable to the members of the Lahore Durbar (whose personal interests were separately worked upon) than to the British official, who describes the scene with so much undignified exultation."

To continue Mr. Elliot's report :—

Next day at the appointed hour,* after the troops had been prepared against possible tumult, I proceeded to the Durbar, accompanied by Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., and the gentlemen of the Residency, and escorted by a squadron of the body-guard, which Major Mayne had brought over by forced marches from Ferozepore. We were met by the Maharajah Duleep Singh outside the gate of the citadel. After the usual

* Report by Mr. Elliot, March 29th, 1849.

salutations, and giving and taking of presents, we conducted the Maharajah to a seat at the end of the Hall of Audience, and took our places on either side of him. The Maharajah, who is endued with an intelligence beyond his years, and cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of the purpose for which the Durbar was now convened for the last time, conducted himself throughout with cheerfulness and self-composure. Chapter V. 1849.

The hall was filled with spectators, who ranged themselves on each side of the centre seats—the Europeans on the right, the natives on the left. The latter were in such numbers as almost to give cause that, with a view of courting popularity, the Council of Regency might refuse to abide by the terms which they had signed the evening before.

After we were seated, the following note, declaratory of the intentions of the Government to assume the sovereignty of the Punjab, was read out in Persian, and afterwards translated into Hindostani, for the comprehension of every one present :—

MANIFESTO TO THE LAHORE DURBAR.

For many years, while the wisdom of Maharajah Runjeet Singh ruled the people of the Punjab, friendships and unbroken peace prevailed between the British nation and the Sikhs.

The British Government desired to maintain with the heirs of Runjeet Singh the same friendly relations which they had held with him. But the Sirdars and Sikh army, forgetful of the policy which the Maharajah's prudence had enjoined, and departing from the friendly example he had set, suddenly crossed the frontier, and, without any provocation, made war upon the British power.

They were met by the British army—four times they were defeated—they were driven back with ignominy across the Sutlej, and pursued to the walls of Lahore.

Chapter V. 1849.

The Maharajah Duleep Singh tendered there, to the Governor-General of India, the submission of himself and his chiefs, and implored the clemency of the British Government.

The Government of India had acquired, by its conquest, an absolute right to subvert the Government of the Sikhs, by which it had been so grossly injured. But, in that time of victory, it showed the sincerity of its declarations, and gave signal proof of the moderation and forbearance by which its policy was directed.

The kingdom of the Punjab was spared; the Maharajah was replaced on the throne of Runjeet Singh; and treaties of friendship were formed between the States.

How have the obligations of these treaties been fulfilled?

The British Government has, with scrupulous fidelity, observed every promise which was made, and has discharged every obligation which the treaties imposed upon it.

It gave to the Maharajah the service of its troops. It afforded him the aid of its treasures in his difficulties. It meddled with none of the institutions or customs of the people. By its advice to the Council it improved the condition of the army; and it laboured to lessen the burdens and to promote the prosperity of every class of the Maharajah's people. It left nothing undone which it had promised to perform; it engaged in nothing from which it had promised to abstain. But there is not one of the main provisions of those treaties which the Sikh Government and Sikh people have not, on their part, faithlessly and flagrantly violated. They bound themselves to pay an annual subsidy of twenty-two lakhs of rupees. No portion whatever has at any time been paid.

The whole debt due by the State of Lahore has increased to more than fifty lakhs of rupees; and crores have been added by the charges of the present war. The control of the British Government, which the Sirdars themselves invited, and to which they bound themselves to submit, has been rejected and resisted by force.

The peace and friendship which were promised by the treaties have been thrown aside. British officers in the discharge of their duty have treacherously been thrown into captivity, with women and children. Chapter V. 1849.

Other British officers, when acting for the Maharajah's interests, were murdered by the Maharajah's servants, after having been deserted by the Maharajah's troops.

Yet, for these things, the Government of Lahore neither inflicted punishment on the offender, nor made reparation for the offence. It confessed itself unable to control its subjects. It formally declared to the British Resident that its troops would not obey its command, and would not act against the chief who had committed this outrage against the Government of India.

Not only did the army of the State refuse thus to act, but it everywhere openly rose in arms against the British. The whole people of the Sikhs joined in its hostility. The high Sirdars of the State have been its leaders; those of them who signed the treaties of peace were the most conspicuous in its ranks; and the chief by whom it was commanded was a member of the Council of Regency itself. They proclaimed their purpose to be the extirpation of the British power, and the destruction of the British people; and they have struggled fiercely to effect it.

But the Government of India has put forth the vast resources of its power. The Army of the Sikhs has been utterly discomfited; their artillery has been captured, the allies they invited have been driven from the Punjab with shame; the Sikh Sirdars, with their troops, have surrendered, and been disarmed, and the Punjab is occupied by the British troops.

The Government of India repeatedly declared that it desired no further conquest; and it gave to the Maharajah, by its acts, a proof of the sincerity of its declarations.

The Government of India has sought and desires no conquest now.

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But when unprovoked and costly war has again been wantonly renewed, the Government of India is bound by its duty to provide for its own security for the future, and to guard effectually the the interests and tranquillity of its own people.

Punishment and benefit alike have failed to remove the inveterate hostility of the Sikhs. Wherefore, the Governor-General, as the only effectual mode which now remains of preventing the recurrence of national outrage, and the renewal of perpetual wars, has resolved upon declaring the British Sovereignty in the Punjab, and upon the entire subjection of the Sikh nation, whom their own rulers have long been unable to control, who are equally insensible to punishment or forbearance, and who, as past events have now shown, will never desist from war so long as they possess the power of an independent kingdom.

The Governor-General of India unfeignedly regrets that he should feel himself compelled to depose from his throne a descendant of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, while he is yet in his early youth.

But the Sovereign of every State is responsible for, and must be affected by, the acts of his people over whom he reigns.

As in the former war, the Maharajah, because of the lawless violence of his subjects, whom his Government was unable to control, was made to pay the penalty of their offence in the loss of his richest provinces; so must he now be involved in all the consequences of their further violence, and of the deep national injury they have again committed.

When a renewal of formidable war by the army and the great body of Sikhs has forced upon the Government of India the conviction that a continuance of Sikh domination in the Punjab is incompatible with the security of the British territories, the Governor-General cannot permit that mere compassion for the Prince should deter him from the adoption of such measures against the nation as alone can be effectual for the future

maintenance of peace, and for protecting the interests of the British people. Chapter V. 1849.

Upon the conclusion of this Manifesto, silence was observed for a few minutes, when Dewan Deena Nath observed, that the decision of the British Government was just, and should be obeyed; but he trusted that the Maharajah and servants of the State would receive consideration at the hands of the British Government, and that some allowance would be granted to maintain them in comfort and respectability.

"If France," he observed, "after the defeat and captivity of Buonaparte, had been restored to its legitimate ruler, though the country yielded thirty crores of revenue, it would be no very extraordinary act of British clemency if the Punjab, which yielded less than three crores, should be restored to the Maharajah. However, let the Governor-General's will be done."

I replied, that the time of concession and clemency was gone; that I was ready, on the part of the Governor-General, to confirm the conditions to which the Council had subscribed yesterday, and which should be read out in Persian and Hindostani, for general information.

This was listened to with the deepest attention, but it called forth no observation. To the former signatures were then added those of Gundur Singh, the accredited Agent of Sirdar Shere Singh, Sindunwallah, and Sirdar Lal Singh, Agent and son of Sirdar Uttur Singh, Kaleewallah, thus completing the entire number of the members of the Council of Regency, who have remained nominally faithful to their engagements. The paper was then handed in duplicate by Rajah Tej Singh to the Maharajah, who immediately affixed his signature, by tracing the initials of his name in English letters. The alacrity with which he took the papers when offered to him, was a matter of remark to all, and suggested the idea that, possibly, he had been instructed by his advisers that any show of hesitation might lead to the substitution of terms less favourable than those which had been offered.

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When the document had thus been fully ratified, I directed the proclamation to be read aloud in the native languages.

I then handed one copy of the terms to the Maharajah; and having thus fulfilled the object of my mission, I took my leave with the usual etiquette, and dissolved the Durbar.

The whole ceremony was conducted with grave decorum. No Sirdar was armed. The costly jewels and gaudy robes, so conspicuous in the Sikh Court on other public occasions, were now thrown aside. I did not observe the slightest sign of wonder, sorrow, anger, or even dissatisfaction, upon the countenance of any one present, except that of Dewan Deena Nath; and from the nice inquiries he had made during the private conference, respecting his own interests, it would not be uncharitable to suppose, that his sadness arose more from the loss of the immense influence he possesses in every department of the State, than from regret at the subversion of his master's dynasty. But neither did I observe any signs of gladness. The whole announcement appeared to be received with a degree of indifference bordering on apathy, and not a word or whisper escaped, to betray the real feelings pervading the hearts of that solemn assembly, which had met to witness the ratified dissolution of the great empire established by the fraud and violence of Runjeet Singh.

As I left the palace, I had the proud satisfaction of seeing the British colours hoisted on the citadel under a royal salute from our own artillery, at once proclaiming the ascendancy of British rule, and sounding the knell of the Khâlsa Raj!

"That the annexation of the Punjab was a politic measure," says Sir John Login,* "few were inclined to question, but, *inasmuch as it involved the deposition*

* *Memorandum* published (for private circulation) in 1860.

*of a young Prince whom the British Government had solemnly engaged to protect in his position during his minority, and who had throughout evinced the utmost confidence in us*, it was, to say the least, a *harsh* proceeding, and one which demanded from our Government towards the person whom our policy had despoiled, the most *liberal* and *generous* consideration.

"Unfortunately, however, in the Maharajah's case, there were circumstances which had the effect of placing the position of His Highness in unfavourable contrast to that of his ministers and chiefs, and which, *unless obviated in a liberal spirit*, necessarily led to the conclusion, that, in accepting the terms offered by the British Government, his ministers had consented to *sacrifice his interests to their own.*

"Having, so far as respects *their* claims upon *him*, been considered by the British Government, *notwithstanding the full control* exercised by *their* officials over his *person*, *power*, and *resources*, to be in the position of a *Sovereign and despotic Prince*, every article of property in the possession of the Maharajah was declared to be State property, and appropriated by the British Government, under the terms which had been granted to him; his Highness being merely permitted to retain, by the courtesy of the Governor-General and the local authorities, such articles as were considered necessary for his personal use.

"He was thus made entirely dependent upon the allowance assigned to him, under Article v., by the

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British Government, amounting during his minority to £12,000 per annum; another portion of the State pension being granted to his relatives and dependents, at the discretion of the British Government, and a balance retained by them for future appropriation.

"No stipulation was made for the benefit of his heirs and descendants, the pension granted to him being apparently terminable with his life. He was required to remove from the Punjab, and from all his early associations, and to reside wherever the Government of India might appoint.

"To His Highness's ministers, Sirdars, and chiefs, the annexation of the Punjab was attended with more favourable circumstances.

"They were relieved from the claims of a Native Government, as feudatories of a despotic Prince, liable to contributions for State purposes—secured in all their private property, real and personal, under British laws—confirmed in possession of their several *jagheers*, some in perpetuity, others rent-free for their own lives, and with deductions of one-half and one-quarter in two succeeding generations; and they were exempted from much personal service to their Prince.

"Having seen that, in 1846, Golâb Singh, one of their number, was not only made independent of Lahore, but was allowed to purchase the Province of Cashmere,* the chiefs who remained faithful were naturally not

* See *ante* pp, 109-10.

indisposed to enter into terms with a Government which could act so liberally, and relieve them from demands frequently made by their natives princes.

"To Rajah Tej Singh in particular the arrangement must have been very satisfactory, as it secured to him and his heirs all his accumulations (amounting in 1846, as shown by his offer for an independent territory like Golâb Singh, to not less than twenty-five lakhs of rupees), besides confirming him and his family *for three generations* in large estates, very lightly assessed, it is believed, at two and three lakhs of rupees, and yearly increasing in value.

"In the same manner, the other chiefs had more or less cause to be satisfied. Even those who had been in arms against us, though deprived of such property *as could not be concealed*, were doubtless able to secure very large sums among their friends, In the case of Rajah Shere Singh, the writer of this was told, by himself, that such was the case, when he wished to obtain permission to go to England, instead of being sent to Calcutta.

"It was not considered expedient at the time to be too particular, and I think it will be found, on reference to Treasury receipts from forfeited estates, that very little was obtained, compared with the wealth of which, a short time before, the chiefs were known to have been in possession.

"This leniency has not been without its good effects, and the security with which Sikh chiefs have been

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allowed to enjoy their wealth, without exaction from Government, has no doubt contributed very greatly to reconcile them to our rule.

"But it must not be overlooked, that all this liberality was shown at the expense of the claims of their Sovereign Prince, on both feudatories and rebels."

"*Although the young Maharajah could not but feel that the terms which had been imposed on him were hard and severe, especially when the loss of his throne was occasioned by no fault on his part, but *entirely* from the treachery of those whom we had placed in power around him, the difficulties with which he had been surrounded in his precarious position, before he was received under the protection of the British Government, were too strongly impressed on his mind to cause any hesitation on his part to retire into private life, and he accordingly submitted to the force of circumstances with very becoming dignity."

* *Memorandum prepared for Her Majesty* by Sir John Login.

# CHAPTER VI.

## LAHORE.

*Letters from* DR. LOGIN *to his* WIFE.

CAMP BEFORE KALEEWALLAH, *Nov. 22nd*, 1848.



. . . . With only the loss of one man killed on our side, we have been able to cut off and disperse a large body of Sikhs who had collected at this place, and were making great depredations. A party of them still hold the fort, and, while I write, are still keeping up a fire upon us, but it is expected, as in other instances, that they will endeavour to escape during the night, and that in the morning we shall find it evacuated. Our guns were ordered down at half-past three in the afternoon, and opened fire within 500 yards with good effect for a couple of hours,* but as the Brigadier did not wish to expose his men to the danger of an assault, or to throw away ammunition uselessly, we were called back to camp about seven p.m., intending to resume proceedings to-morrow.

Many of our young officers had hand-to-hand encounters, and some narrow escapes were made—Westcott Davidson, Sam

* It was a current joke among Login's brother officers, that he equally distinguished himself in *laying the guns* during a fight, as in carrying off the wounded afterwards.

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Fisher, Swinton, Jackson, Christie, and others of the Cavalry, and a young lad, Mackell, of the Artillery, have been among the most successful. I cannot say that I heard with much pleasure the various accounts of how their opponents were "skewered" (the favourite slang expression); by all accounts, about 200 Sikhs were cut up, and a very few made prisoners. To-morrow I trust I may be successful in getting hold of some at least of the poor wounded wretches, if any have been left alive, as soon as we get possession of the fort, so as to make it possible to prosecute a search for them. We came on the Sikhs so as to take them by surprise: This could not have happened had the country people generally been friendly to them, so as to have given them information. You will be amused at the share of loot that has fallen to my lot—a little boy about four, deserted by his parents, found in a small hut behind the battery where I was stationed! My *doolie* bearers brought him to me, and I have told them to take good care of him for me.

*November* 23*rd*. Well; it is as we expected; a shell of ours set the place on fire; the men in the fort made off in all directions, the darkness favouring their escape; still many were cut up, or else severely wounded. At daylight I sent to the Brigadier to ask permission to go and pick up all the wounded I could, taking all the litters I could collect with me. "Certainly, certainly, an excellent proposition!" So off I started, with a train of litters behind me, a supply of water, and some brandy. We soon found all that were alive in the fort or village. Some desperately cut-up, poor fellows, had been brought into hospital, where Beatson of the Horse Artillery and I have been working all day, doing all we can for them. We shall take care of them while we remain here, and leave them in charge of some villagers when we march. The first man I picked up was an Akali in the ditch of the fort. He had almost bled to death, and when he saw us evidently only expected his *coup de grâce*. He was greatly, and no doubt agreeably, surprised when I gave him a little brandy and after-

wards water, and, raising him carefully, placed him on a litter and dressed his wounds before he was carried off to our hospital tent. Some of our people doubt the wisdom or propriety of treating them in this way, but I tell them that we can only teach the poor ignorant creatures the difference between Christians and Hindoos by showing mercy and kindness to our enemies. I feel sure they will not fight against us with such bitter determination again. I am glad that, from having so few wounded of our own, I am able to look after these poor fellows properly. I must stop, as I must go to amputate the arm of one of the Sikhs we brought in. Chapt VI 1849.

I hear that James has passed a good examination, and is returning to Nepal. We have captured a great quantity of grain in the fort, and commissariat supplies of all sorts. The owner of the fort of Kaleewallah is Goordas Singh, a wealthy man; he has evidently a large family of small children, for it was touching to see yesterday, when walking through the place, lots of children's toys, swings, horses and carts, all lying as they had thrown them down; it seems he sent them off at once when he made up his mind to hold the place against us.

A good copy of the Grunt'h was found here, and as no one else attaches value to it, I shall take it. I have also, as a relic of the fight, my friend the Akali's "quoits," as sharp as a razor; he had them in his turban when I picked him up in the ditch, also a jingall ball, which passed close by me and lodged in the *doolie*. I believe that I and my bearers were as much exposed as any, the fellows in the fort fired so high that the shots fell among us, but happily no one was hit.

WITH WHEELER'S FORCE AT MOOKEEZAN, JULLUNDUR DOAB.

*December 2nd*, 1848.

It is past four p.m., and I have only just reached my tent after a long march from Deena-nuggur; yesterday we crossed the Ravee

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and made a long march, Delaspoor to Deena-nuggur, and to-day we have had an equally long and tedious one to this place. The Brigadier is anxious to get to Hoshearpoor, where part of the force will halt for some time.

Since I wrote you last, we have taken and destroyed another fort, which had been evacuated just before we arrived by the insurgent Sikhs, and an hour after, when our rear guard came up, and when all the Sepoys were busy cooking at their *chulahs*, an alarm was given that the Sikhs were upon us.

The whole force turned out in double quick time, and out we marched for nearly two miles in their direction, when we found that it was only the fellows who had been in the fort, who had ventured near us in the hopes of picking off some of our camels at graze. The Irregulars were sent in pursuit, and came up with a party, of whom, it is reported, they killed and wounded twenty, having five or six of their own men wounded.

A couple of hospital *doolies* had been destroyed by some Sikhs, who had hidden themselves in the neighbouring villages when the cavalry went past. Dr. Wallich lost his surgical instruments in them. So we have only my case now to depend on.

After we crossed the Ravee, Hodson of the Guides followed up the chase, and found that they made for some jungle in the direction of Neroli, where the party broke up and divided, dispersing to their homes, leaving their chief with a following of only twenty-five horsemen. They are nothing better than dacoits. John Lawrence is out in the district after some fellow near Noorpoor, who has managed to put the Jullundur people in a great fright, and it is in consequence of the alarm he has excited that the Brigadier is anxious to get the force quietly to Hoshearpoor, to set their minds at rest. This is only a night's *dâk* from Jullundur, and if you recollect, I wrote you from here on my way to join the force at Deena-nuggur. We expect to reach Hoshearpoor in two marches, and it is not unlikely that we may afterwards return to Jullundur.

I endeavour to make myself quite easy anyway; and to believe that all is for the best. I am determined never to be a grumbler, and to try to make grumblers look on the sunny side, if possible. Chapter VI. 1849.

We have just heard that Uttur Singh has given himself up, to save Lal Singh, his son, from being hanged, and that all the insurgent chiefs, except Chuttur Singh, have expressed themselves ready to come to terms. The answer sent them is, that we do not treat with *armed* rebels!

Altogether we are in a very curious position in this country. We are supposed, and believed, to represent the Government of the country, and yet the very men who are in arms against us are, or rather were, the instruments who were selected by us, and by whom we ruled!

God grant that we act wisely and justly when putting all resistance down. You would be amused at the Oude article in the *Delhi Gazette*; I wrote it hurriedly, but it seems to have been approved of.

LAHORE, *March 18th*, 1849.

I am only in from Jullundur for a few days, to visit Henry Lawrence, and you may be sure he has not allowed me to be idle. He is busy enough himself, and I am doing my best to help him. He is hard at work arranging his new Government in the Punjab. Owing to God's good providence, we now have Mrs. George Lawrence back safe, with her little ones, from captivity. I have just been walking with her in the garden for half an hour. George is expected to-day. Moolraj is in jail; Chuttur Singh, Shere Singh, and all the other rebel chiefs, on the way to Lahore. Forty-one guns and 16,000 stand of arms surrendered to Gilbert beyond the Jhelum, and Dost Mahomed and his Afghans are taking themselves off to Cabul as fast as they can. No proclamations out yet regarding our future policy, but no doubt Lord Dalhousie will report all his arrangements to the Court of Directors by this

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mail, so that probably you may know it in England before it is announced here. I am not, of course, at liberty to tell you *all I know*, but Lawrence says that as it will be public in England soon, I may tell you this much—that *annexation is determined on* by the Governor-General; a large local force to be raised; Henry is to be Commissioner of the new province, with his brother John and another civilian as Revenue Board and Council; and the whole country parcelled out into districts, as in the Saugur and Nerbuddah territories. Had not the chiefs been permitted to come in and submit, on a promise of not being deported from the Punjab, I think Lawrence would have sent some of them to England under my charge. He is still anxious that some of the young lads may go to England, but of course now they could not be sent as hostages. Another plan he has, is to get the Punjab separated from the North-West Provinces in all that concerns Post-office arrangements, and make me his Postmaster-General, and see what we can do in this line. But he fears that the Governor-General will sanction nothing that would be a risk of expense, as he dreads the Punjab not turning out a financial success.

The work on which I am engaged at present, is an estimate of military expenditure—several Irregular Cavalry corps to be raised at once. I tell him that all the doctors who have been employed on active service in the Punjab must be rewarded before he thinks of *me*, such as Dempster, Macrae, and others. He says, "Never fear, something will turn up for which *you* alone are specially fitted, which will prevent you running off home." I believe this will be the case, and if not, I shall feel that it is my best course to go home. Lady Lawrence not arrived, but expected, *viâ* Mooltan, in a few days.

*March 28th, finished 31st.*

. . . . Still at Lahore with Lawrence. I have had a busy time helping him, but I have laid my *dâk* to return to my duties at Jullundur.

I told you in my last that Lawrence was anxious to get me something that would keep me here permanently with him. Chapter VI. 1849.

I showed both Henry and John the paper I drew up, and of which I sent you a copy, and I believe they have come to the resolution to recommend me very strongly to Government for the charge of the young Maharajah Duleep Singh, when the Punjab is annexed to these territories. George Lawrence has arrived since they came to this determination, and strongly supports them in their decision that I am the fittest man they know for the office; at the same time George is disappointed, for he came full of the resolution to apply for, and get me appointed to civil employ with him at Peshawur, and will not give it up unless I myself would prefer the charge of the young King.

The recommendation is to be made when the disposition of Duleep Singh comes under consideration, in the meantime I shall go back to my military duties at Jullundur. I leave the whole matter to be settled, as I know it will be, by One who is wiser than I. At the same time, I have put all in training to be ready to start for England to rejoin you, and have applied for my leave to Calcutta, preparatory to applying for furlough to England.

If Government decides that I am to be put in charge of the young Maharajah, as the best man for the post, I can easily get my leave cancelled, if not, then I shall joyfully take myself off on my homeward journey.

Had I consulted my own feelings alone, I should at once have determined to go home, but I feel it my duty, as long as my health continues so good, not to neglect, or rather, decline, an opportunity of making your circumstances more comfortable if I can.

I gave John Lawrence, who is a thorough man of business, and even more consulted by Lord Dalhousie than Henry, my paper to read, with the request in writing that he would give me his candid opinion as to whether he thought it likely that I would, at the present conjunction, be selected for employment out of the

Chapter VI. 1849. strict line of my profession (such as my previous duties may have qualified me for), or whether the probabilities were that my future service would be strictly professional, such as I could always obtain on returning to India from furlough? As my standing in the profession is high, I am told by those whose opinion is worth having, and who stand at the top of it, such as Ranald Martin and others, that unless I get a good opening in the political department, I should not give up my chances in the medical line.

I consulted John first, rather than Henry, because I knew he was less likely to be influenced by our friendship and intimacy, and would be more unbiassed than Henry, who had known me so long. I afterwards showed it to Henry, and the resolution both have come to is what I mentioned above. I know that you will agree with me that I have done all that is required of me in the matter. I now leave my "sentence to come forth from His presence," and am satisfied that He will dispose of me as "seemeth best to Him."

I think that the Governor-General is not unfavourably disposed towards me, if I may judge from letters I received to-day regarding the balance of my Lucknow pay. I have received it *in full*, instead of part being deducted to pay Dr. Glennie, whom Colonel Richmond appointed to take over charge from me. Colonel Richmond's application for these allowances has been refused, on the ground that the appointment was an *improper* one, so he has had to pay Glennie out of his own pocket, and pocket the snub instead!

I thought my proper course was to state my just claims, but express my readiness to submit to whatever decision (after due consideration) the Civil Auditor might arrive at.

Goodwyn of the Engineers tells me that Tom has pleased Cautley so much by his work and his zeal on the Ganges Canal, that he spoke of him in the highest terms as one of his most promising engineers. This is a great comfort to me. I now can

feel that neither of my brothers have proved one of "John Company's bad bargains." Chapter VI. 1849.

Last night we heard of the occupation of Peshawur, and the flight to Cabul of the Dost and his Douranis.

I went with Henry Lawrence to visit Moolraj. To-morrow we go to see Chuttur Singh and his son.

I have seen a good deal of Fakeer Nooroodeen and Dewan Deena Nath during my stay at Lahore.

When I think of all the responsibility and anxiety that will devolve upon you, in your delicate health, having to arrange all about the children's school, &c., I feel inclined to throw it all up, and be off to join you. It is only for your sake I care to make a name for myself.

Your brother Charles is appointed Paymaster in the Punjab, I am told, and is to remain.

JULLUNDUR, *April 31st*, 1849.

Left Lahore on Wednesday, and returned here. The day before, Mr. Elliot arrived—sent by the Governor-General to communicate to the little Maharajah the intention of Government. I saw Elliot at the Residency, and had some talk with him. Well, all is over! the Punjab is annexed, and from the Khyber to the Sutlej is now a British province. Strange, is it not, that this has been brought about almost against one's will? The interview I spoke of in my last, with Chuttur Singh, Shere Singh, and the other prisoner chiefs, took place—I saw them with Henry Lawrence, and afterwards alone in private. I have heard all they severally had to say. They all declare that the insurrection was quite unpremeditated, and only gathered strength as it went on, until almost every chief of note in the Punjab had been more or less involved. Rajah Tej Singh and old Nooroodeen were the only two, I believe, whom Shere Singh spoke of, as not having communicated with him at some time or other; and he gave up

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a letter which he had received from the Rânee, which implicates her very decidedly, and corroborates two others which had been intercepted; *so that you see that if the insurrection had been crushed in the bud,—which it might most easily have been, as they themselves admit,—why then, few chiefs would have been compromised or implicated, and we could not have annexed the country without great injustice.* But what we have looked upon as our reverses and mismanagement, have in the end been overruled for good. Such is it always with us, even with regard to Peshawur and the districts beyond the Indus. Had Dost Mahomed not acted like a fool in the matter, they would have been offered to him; but as matters have turned out, we must ourselves take them.

This I do honestly believe, that there has been a strong desire on our part to act justly, and not to grasp this country from the Sikhs, as no doubt our enemies will say; but it has been, as it were, forced upon us. I know that Lawrence would give anything if it could have been averted.

Now I trust we may look forward to a lasting peace, with, I hope, attendant blessings in its train, that is, if we now do our duty as becomes a Christian nation, seeking guidance from God in all we do.

Do you remember Herbert of the 18th at Lucknow, coming to see Henry L—— and his wife, when they were with us? He is the man who defended Attok so long. A gallant fellow he is, and has proved himself so, and his courage is of the right sort too, which is all the more pleasing.

When he told me at Lahore of all his feelings, and his desire to attribute all his confidence to its right source, and his anxiety to acquit himself as became a Christian, I was sincerely rejoiced.

*April 2nd.* The order for my return to Lahore has just come, the Governor-General having approved of my appointment, and I have laid my *dâk* and start to-morrow.

I do not yet know exactly how I shall be employed. Henry Lawrence intends me to be Governor of the Citadel and all it con-

tains; *including* the young King; but it is possible that he may be removed from the Punjab, and I may have to accompany him elsewhere; how nice it would be if I were told to take him to England! Chapter VI. 1849.

I scarcely know what to think of this appointment: may God strengthen me to do my duty whatever it may be. I cannot bear to give up the hope of seeing you soon. . . . .

RESIDENCY, LAHORE, *Easter-day, April 20th*, 1849.

The service to-day and Holy Communion were very impressive. I wish you had been with us, for it is the first time that Holy Communion has been celebrated here. It was even the more impressive from the service being held in the great hall of the Residency, for of course we have no church. The Communion Service was of no ordinary character, many of those who partook of it had lately been in great peril. It was the first that George Lawrence and his wife, Herbert Edwardes, and others with him, had been able to attend since they had passed through great dangers, and had been safely delivered from them; and many of those present were about to commence their new labours in this new country, where probably many years must elapse before every part of these new dominions may hear the sound of the Gospel!

I know that many of those present were in earnest in seeking God's blessing on their work.

I wrote you that I was installed by Sir Henry Lawrence on the 6th, as Governor of the Citadel and its contents; and he took me to the Palace, and introduced me in the character of his future Governor to the young dethroned King, Duleep Singh. The little fellow seemed very well pleased with me, and we got on swimmingly. I told him that now you had gone to take my little ones to England, I was left alone, and wanted some one to care for, and be kind to, so that I was all the more

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disposed to take pleasure in the duty which had been assigned me by the Governor-General and Sir Henry Lawrence, and would do all in my power to make him happy. He seems a very fine-tempered boy, intelligent, and handsome. He writes and reads Persian very well, and showed me his last copy; he has also made a little progress in English, which I hope to make him like better. After conversing with him for some time, I went to look at the place intended for my residence—in a very beautiful garden within the Palace, not far from the Maharajah's apartments, fine marble *baradurries*,* fountains, &c.; in fact, far beyond anything of the kind elsewhere at Lahore, and reminding me somewhat of the Shah Munzil at Lucknow, only the buildings, being of marble, are richer. I then took a glance over the different establishments of the little man—enormous they are indeed, and in his fallen and altered circumstances will require great reductions, which I shall endeavour to manage as well as I can, by finding other employment for the people, and conciliating them as far as I can by patient inquiry into their cases. I have to commence to-day with the establishment of orderlies, or *bayas*, and go on through the whole, recommending reductions in each for the approval of Government.

I trust, with God's blessing, to manage pretty well, for I have had experience to some extent.

You will see the names of all those who are to have civil charge in the papers. No one can say that Lawrence's selection is not good. Men of the stamp of Montgomery, Macleod, Tucker, Thornton, to be Commissioners!

I shall be among friends, you see, good, hard-working fellows, who have their hearts in the right place—it is no little pleasure to be with them. I feel much this separation from you, but who knows what may come? Sir Henry would only be too glad

* Hall, reception-room.

to have the little boy go to England, and Lord Dalhousie may ordain it. Lady Lawrence is here, not looking strong. She is always saying she wishes you were here with me. Harry promises to turn out a strong, sturdy boy, a little like Tim in his old-fashioned ways. Herbert Edwardes is here in the house, from Mooltan. Chapter VI. 1849.

CITADEL OF LAHORE, *April 10th.*

I am very busy drawing out my statements and lists, but I fear it will be many weeks, if not months, before I can complete them. I have to make out a list in English for the Governor-General, of all the jewels and valuables belonging to the Sikh Government, and now transferred to ours; among them is the Koh-i-noor.

Besides this, which is pressing on me, I have to pay up and discharge all the old establishments of Runjeet Singh. I take care to look after the interests of my young charge, and, as far as I can, see that he has his luxuries and comforts as before; I have also to see that he is not robbed by people about him, who only think of themselves in the universal "burst up" that has taken place!

Poor, dear little fellow! So far, he seems mightily pleased with me, and I do hope we shall continue to like each other; he is very lovable, I think. Now that I know what I can keep for him out of the accumulated property, I must take care that his possessions are not diminished by robbery or pilfering. What he does not require to take with him I shall have sold for his benefit, and purchase Company's paper for him. His studies at present are Persian and English. For amusements, he is passionately fond of hawking, and thinks of nothing else. He is busy getting up a book on the subject, in Persian, with drawings and paintings of all the various species of hawks; this takes up his whole attention, and renders him indifferent to all else for the time being. The book is to treat of all the most approved ways of

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training and managing hawks. He has painters constantly employed near him at this work, which he watches with the deepest interest, and himself tries to draw and paint a little. I want you to send me out for him, a nice paint-box and materials, for his use, and a good book of instructions in the art of drawing and painting, till I can get him good lessons. Send also some good mechanical toys to amuse him, also geographical puzzles or dissected maps, plates of animals, &c., fit for a boy of his age, to amuse and interest him.

I hope the likeness he is having taken for you will be ready to go with this, also the sketch of the Palace and its surroundings. Strange the vicissitudes of Indian life! I am now writing in the room which Jowahir Singh (the Ranee's brother) always occupied, and there is a beautiful little garden adjoining the house.

I have no idea yet whether Lord Dalhousie wishes me to go with the Maharajah, if he is sent away from Lahore, or whether I am to remain here as Assistant to the Board of Government, and to be in charge of all civil pensioners. I have had no time to look at a paper, so I know nothing of what is going on around.

Dr. Sprenger writes from Lucknow, congratulating me on the very laudatory article on my appointment, in the editorial of the *Delhi Gazette*! I never saw it. Dr. Sprenger says that since I left, B. has not been "over-bearing," but "beyond bearing!" Hollings is on his way here; I shall see him shortly. Lucknow is nearly denuded of all our old party. The little Maharajah has just been in with the portrait of himself, which I am to send you with his salaam! He says he wrote his name below, that you might know it was genuine. If I remain here for good, I shall send for Khalipha Ali Bux and some of our old servants; I shall then have the pleasure of talking to them of the Mem Sahib and *Baba-log*. You would be pleased if you saw how gentle and patient I am with Meah Jan, poor lad! He was your favourite *khidmutgar*, though I always thought him rather slow; indeed, I am afraid that he will now believe that my temper must

be that of a turkey cock (or perhaps a gander!), who only flares up before his mate and little ones! I think the Maharajah shows a great desire to hear about England. Sir H. Lawrence wishes he could be educated there, and not left to grow up idle and debauched in India, with nothing to do. Chapter VI. 1849.

He will surely have as much to live on as any of our nobles, considering what *he* has lost, and *we* have gained! Why, then, should he not be brought up to the life of one? (in the highest sense of the word)—he is young enough to mould.

CITADEL OF LAHORE, *April 29th*, 1849.

My occupations continue to multiply. I am now known as the "Killah-ki-Malik"—Lord or Master of Lahore Citadel. I have just been placing some sergeants of Artillery in charge of the magazine under my orders, to write out lists of all the arms of all kinds. Another set I have appointed, in the same way, in Runjeet Singh's camp establishment, including ever so many splendid Cashmere tents, carpets, *purdahs*, &c., while I myself take the jewel department in the Toshkhana, and overlook the whole. The extraordinary way in which jewels of the greatest value are packed away would amuse you. Yesterday, when looking over some splendid diamond rings, with the Treasurer and his man, which were all huddled together in a bag—one of them being a very beautiful likeness of Queen Victoria—I suggested that, until the velvet rolls I had ordered for them were ready, they should tie a label to each with a bit of thread or string, to which they agreed. To my amusement, I find that they had misunderstood me, for they strung them all on a string like so many buttons, dozen by dozen! The first ring I took out of the bag was a diamond valued at 6,000 rupees! and some of them were very valuable.

I cannot yet arrive at a valuation of the jewels (exclusive of

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the Koh-i-noor), but I don't think it will be far short of a million! and the other valuable property as much more.

Lawrence seems to think that Lord D—— intends, after making over what may be thought proper for the use of the deposed King, to send the rest to England. If so, I hope under Lawrence's charge; at least, he should have the option.

With my little charge I get on very well. I have had a communication door opened between my room and his apartments. As soon as he heard the announcement made to me that the opening had been made, he proposed to go with me to see it, and off we went. The opening could only, as yet, be got through by stooping, and then a drop of some feet into my room. I leapt down, and he called out to me to catch him, and jumped into my arms; followed, of course, punctiliously, by his whole retinue! some of them elderly stout courtiers, who were quite serious about it, looking upon it as all in the way of duty. It was a droll scene! I think that he and I shall be very good friends.

He told me gravely that he won't trust himself among the Sikhs again, and declines to go out for a ride or drive unless I accompany him.

There is a rumour current that his mother has escaped from the fort at Chunar. I trust she won't come this way.

I think Duleep a remarkably intelligent boy, he seems to understand thoroughly the characters of all those about him, in a way that an English boy would be incapable of doing. When he brought me the two pictures finished and ready to send to you, he was quite proud of the signatures on them, one in Persian, the other in English. He wishes me to tell you that he did it all himself, without any help. I don't think the likenesses are good enough, for he is really a handsome little fellow.

Dryburgh writes me from Nepal that he has been appointed to officiate as first Assistant to the Resident in Cripp's absence, and it may probably be permanent.

Strange, is it not? that we two are the *only* medicos in political employment in India just now, except Campbell at Darjeeling. Chapter VI. 1849.

CITADEL, LAHORE, *May 6th and 8th*, 1849.

I continue very busy, paying off all the Durbar establishments, taking lists of jewels and treasure collected by Runjeet, collecting ordnance stores into the magazine in the citadel from all quarters, looking over the vast camp-equipage of the late rulers of the Punjab. I have at last got some European assistants under me, Cooke of the Horse Artillery, and two Horse Artillery sergeants, and four European writers have been placed at my disposal, besides ever so many *moonshees* (writers), and *mutsuddies* (native), to bother me from morning to night. I have wheeled them into line, as Todd would say and now I can get along swimmingly.

To-day is Sunday, and I have had the little Maharajah over with me for a couple of hours; he brought his Urdu teacher with him. I have got rid of all other work for the day and enjoy the rest, but I feel I am doing a good work to teach him any good I can. It is an amusement to him to have an English writing lesson with me, so I give him a precept to write out and translate, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." I intend, as I cannot put the Bible in his hands yet, to let him have such principles as these to season his studies with, and I hope to see more of him as I get rid of duties that are pressing. He continues to be very frank and confiding with me, and I am getting really fond of him. Hollings and Drake turned up, just as I was engaged superintending the removal of the Koh-i-noor and the State jewels from the old Toshkhana to the place in which all the other treasure is kept, in the Motee Munden, so they were fortunate in having an opportunity of seeing them, before they were shut up for a time.

One of the Maharajah's painters has just made a sketch for me

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of the "Summun Boorj," and of my residence in the Khâb Gha, but he has left out the finest part of the building, the marble *baradurrie* which adjoins my rooms, and opens into the garden. You would delight in the view, it is magnificent. The racecourse and grand parade in front, and the Ravee with its numerous lovely gardens in the distance.

The little Maharajah has been busy collecting for me drawings and paintings done by his best painters. Some are very curious and interesting indeed, representing domestic life in the Punjab, and various trades and professions. He has also selected authentic likenesses of the great chiefs and men of note.

I have just had a letter from ——— asking me to set him up with some furniture, &c., from the Toshkhana! I don't think he will much relish the reply I have sent him; indeed, I have some hesitation in using these things in my own rooms (though I *do* live in the Palace), and I am most careful not to take any advantage of my position in any way, for it is a most delicate one with respect to my little charge.

I have continued to ride my own grey Cabul horse, "Robin Hood," daily, with plain English saddle, in the midst of the gorgeous calvacade, or royal Sowarree, when I accompany the little boy; but, as he has stumbled badly several times, I am looking out for another horse, as it would not be dignified to have a fall!

The little fellow, and also several of his courtiers, express astonishment that I do not order out the best horse in the stable for myself, and both Mansel and John Lawrence, who rode with me last time, said I was too scrupulous in this matter. Yet I have determined that I shall ride a horse of *my own*.

The Maharajah sent me yesterday three splendid Arabs to choose from, and, of course, I was then obliged to order one of them to be prepared for me to ride out with him that day, but at the same time I have fixed on another horse to purchase, *not* one of those ordered to be sold from the royal stables under my

charge! I may be too scrupulous, but I feel happier in my independence. Chapter VI. 1849.

I am very indifferent as to my fate. I shall be rejoiced at the opportunity of taking furlough and rejoining you in England, but I want to do my duty, whatever it is.

Many would regret losing such an appointment as this, but I have not yet acquired much relish for acting the "Bahadoor," although I have that distinguished rank, thanks to the King of Oude!

You will doubtless see by the papers, that the Ranee Jinda (Duleep's mother) has made her escape from the fort at Chunar, near Benares, where she was imprisoned. I have just heard from Dryburgh that she is in *his* custody at Nepal (I told you he was Acting-Assistant Resident).

He says she arrived there in disguise as a Fakeernee, and Jung Bahadoor at once sent her to the Resident.

Is it not a strange turn of events that has brought the son under my charge, and the mother under his? I trust he will keep her safe, so that she won't come here to complicate matters. A connection of the Ranee's, a brother-in-law, is one of my attendants. He has just been telling me strange stories about her. He says that her affection for the handsome young Rajah Heera Singh was the cause of her not offering to perform *suttee* with old Runjeet, that she made proposals to Heera Singh, which he declined, but recommended Lal Singh to her attention, which proposal was accepted; that after Heera's refusal, her love turned to hate, and she at last compassed his death. I daresay you remember reading the account of it at the time.

The Ranee Jinda is, even by her own relatives, looked upon as *exceptionally* bad, even among these licentious people.

CITADEL, LAHORE, *May 22nd*, 1849.

No more known yet of our future destination. Sir Henry tells me that as soon as I can get clear of paying off the Civil

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Establishment and the Toshkhana, that he wants me to take the Post-office in hand, as Postmaster-General in the Punjab. I tell him I must get through some of my pressing work before I undertake anything new. I am getting a return from Bowring of all the lame, blind, old, and infirm in the city, so as to give away some of the Maharajah's regular charity to them, instead of the indiscriminate almsgiving to professional beggars. I wish to show his people whom we consider proper objects of his bounty.

I do so long to join you in England, that I feel quite indifferent as to whether this is to be a permanent appointment or not. When I feel myself longing for your presence, I try to comfort myself by thinking that at all events you are safe from all the discomforts that many other military men's wives are liable to here;—take poor "Dismal Johnnie" as an example! He took his wife with him to Wuzeerabad, and was ordered to send her back immediately. He writes me in despair, and throws himself on my mercy, begs me to take charge of her, and give her a room here in the Khâb Gha! I have managed a place for her elsewhere.

I was much amused yesterday, when giving some directions to the Havildar of the Guards at the Toshkhana, to find that he belonged to the 56th Native Infantry, and had been with Colonel Hope Dick at Lucknow, remembered the "Mem-Sahib" and the "Mem-Sahib-ki-Bain," who had married the "Residency Doctor Sahib,"—and that she was "essah khoopsurut." I could not help wondering if the rogue was poking fun, but he was as grave as a judge, and apparently had no idea that he was talking to the identical Doctor Sahib, for, as I said before, I am only known here as the "Killah-ki-Malik."

Sir H. and Lady Lawrence, and their dear little boy, have started for Simla. I daresay the fate of my little charge will soon be known now. The dear little man has just been with me for a couple of hours to-day; he seems always so glad to come,

that I feel so sorry I have not more time to spare to receive him oftener, but I am *so* occupied. I have taken care to select some of the best tents for his use, before any are made over for sale, and I have ordered that those that are to be used for his servants and establishment, be at once pitched on the parade ground in front, and have given his people a plan of encampment to which they are always to adhere, and of which they highly approve. I send you a sketch of it. Chapter VI. 1849.

Now when you are told that the tents for the little man himself are all lined, some with rich Cashmere shawls, and some with satin and velvet embroidered with gold, *semianas*, carpets, *purdahs*, and floor-cloths to match, and that the tent-poles are encased in gold and silver (like a *chobedar's* mace), you may fancy that we shall look rather smart! I should say that for camp-equipage, old Runjeet's camp was the very finest and most sumptuous among all the Princes of India. It is very pleasant to look out at the pretty little encampment, and feel that we shall soon start *somewhere*—a report is current that the Mahabuleshwar Hills, near Poona, is to be the boy's destination.

I heard from Lamb from Lucknow; he says it is reported on good authority, that Colonel Richmond was jealous of my influence with the natives, and reported to Government that I had influenced them in political matters!

CITADEL, *June 10th*, 1849.

I am at present occupied with the pensions and settlements for the wives, or rather widows, of Runjeet Singh; twenty-two in all—seventeen Hindoo, and five Mahomedan!

At first they made all sorts of difficulties as to their communications with me, sending their *maldas* with their messages; but they soon gave that up, and I am now overpowered with their personal attentions. My great help and factotum in all matters connected with the Ranees is old Amlah Singh, a white-bearded,

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tough old Sikh, who has been with every Sikh Maharajah ever since their commencement.

He told me—sitting at my feet the other night—of all that occurred at the death, or rather the assassination, of Maharajah Shêre Singh (Duleep's predecessor), to whom he was actually speaking when he was shot by Ajeet Singh six years ago, and also of his being one of the five of Heera Singh's party who escaped, when that poor lad was cut up. Don't you remember my reading an account of it to you at the time?

Meah Kheema, the confidential personal attendant of Duleep Singh, also occasionally gives me *his* account of various matters. He says he was the only one left with the boy, when his mother sent the troops in pursuit of Rajah Heera Singh and his party.

I wish I had the pen of a ready writer. I might bring out some very interesting facts connected with the history of the Punjab and Afghanistan during the last fifty years.

The principal topic of the day is the commencement of the trial of Moolraj. I have fitted up the Dewan-i-Aum of the Citadel for the occasion, to the admiration and satisfaction of the Commissioners, John Lawrence and Mansel. Herbert Edwardes and Montgomery have been in, expressing their delight at the handsome appearance I have contrived to give the building; everything handsome, and no gaudy display; it certainly added dignity to the solemn occasion for which they were assembled.

When I was appointed Governor of the Citadel, I found that this included charge of all the State prisoners, and thus Moolraj became my ward; and it would amuse you if you saw me, twice a day, walking across the quadrangle of the Citadel, to and from the prison to the court, with Moolraj in friendly conversation (but with a European guard close by), when I make him over and receive him back.

I told him that Vans Agnew was my dear friend, and that his death was a great grief to me. He expressed himself as more grieved than ever at the event since he heard this, and he

solemnly avers he never authorized it. Nor had he ever encouraged his people to attack Agnew. He expressed great regret for what had occurred, but said he was helpless, and so far I believe the evidence does not implicate him. Chapter VI. 1849.

Colonel Hamilton, of the 34th Native Infantry, a Deputy Commissioner here, is appointed to act for him, and takes up the case *con amore*. I do not wonder that Moolraj is loud in his praise of our justice and love of fair play, when he sees how Hamilton sticks up for him against Bowring, the Government prosecutor.

I told John Lawrence that if they expect to get a verdict against Moolraj, they had made a mistake when they gave him a Scotchman to defend him! Hamilton comes of a legal family; Mr. R. Hamilton, the Clerk of Sessions, is his uncle. His brother Jock, is a great friend of your brother Charles; they came out as cadets together.

Certainly Indian life is full of romance! I never dreamt of having to do with such strange and historic characters as are now accumulated under my charge, for I have *all* the political prisoners now. It is very amusing the requests I get from friends and acquaintances. One asks me to get him appointed to carry the Koh-i-noor to England; several to get them appointments in the Punjab under the Lawrences; another asks to get a civil engineer's appointment; but there is no end to the absurd requests. Many I have been able to help to get quarters, for they are very difficult to be had. I have been able to take Colonel Hamilton and E. Prinsep into the Citadel, as they could get no place anywhere. My duties are certainly multifarious. I was first appointed Governor of the Citadel, and in charge of the Maharajah; then Pension Paymaster to all State pensioners. I have to pay off and discharge all public establishments of the former Government, which I did not think necessary to retain, to recommend all persons who were to receive pensions and gratuities; then I received charge of all the magazines, receiving all military stores, guns, arms, &c., collected throughout the whole country,

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in consequence of the general disarming. I was formally made Keeper of the State Toshkhana, or Treasury, with the State jewels; and the Koh-i-noor was placed in my hands. All the artillery workshops throughout the city, and the guards at the city gates, were made over to me; the great stud establishments for breeding horses throughout the Punjab also, which entailed a great deal of work. But I have forgotten the most troublesome of all, the Ranees, the wives and concubines of *all* the Maharajahs! I am now trying to find houses for them, to get them out of the Citadel. So if I have not work enough, I am surprised! By-the-bye, I am also Postmaster-General of the Punjab, at Henry Lawrence's special request; he knows I like the work. I should not object, when all these various duties are fulfilled, to remain Postmaster-General of the Punjab, if Cashmere could be added to my beat! I often wish you were here, to help me with your suggestions in many things. I would like, above all things, to be able to show you the gorgeous State jewels, as I have now arranged them in the fine box I have had made and lined.

You would have laughed to see how they were kept before, by the native treasurers, rolled up in bits of rags, and stowed away in such queer places.

## TRIAL OF MOOLRAJ.

LAHORE, *June 17th to 22nd.*

The trial of Moolraj still going on. I don't think the old fellow is anything of the hero they would make him out to be, but rather a weak, chicken-hearted fellow, afraid to do what was right, and entirely in the hands of some resolute villains around him. I don't think he really intended any harm to dear Pat Vans Agnew; but he had not moral courage enough to put the fellows down.

I have not heard yet whether Tom has succeeded in turning the river from its course three-quarters of a mile, as he has undertaken to do! he does not stick at trifles, and I hear he is highly thought of at Roorkee, so I think I may consider him safely launched, and that he will prove himself worth the Company's salt. Well; Moolraj's trial is over, poor wretch! Hamilton made an excellent defence for him, and spoke the sentiments of most people who understand the whole matter from the beginning. Moolraj is, however, found guilty; but from having been the victim of circumstances is most earnestly "recommended to mercy." I had a long talk with him the other day; he spoke highly of the endeavours which had been made to ensure him justice. He said it was this love of justice which had made us so powerful, and would continue to make us more so. Until we came forward, he said, and offered him the assistance of an officer qualified to undertake his defence, no one had dared to speak a word in his favour; but now he was not a little surprised to find that Colonel Hamilton had succeeded in getting four witnesses to speak favourably for him. He told me that from the day of Agnew's death, he had never gone to visit his own family at his own house, though some of them had been to speak to him. I daresay we may soon look for Henry Lawrence and his wife back from the hills. They have both derived benefit from the change, but I fear it will be the old thing again with him—he will overwork himself as before.

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CITADEL, LAHORE, *July 12th*, 1849.

I wish you were here to enjoy the lovely view from the window of my sitting-room, the little garden in front, with its marble fountain, the vinery, the gallery leading to the Summun Boorj, which would make a splendid conservatory, the marble hall outside, with the fountain in the centre, and its beautiful mosaic

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pavement. You may form an idea of its beauties, by a remark I heard from a lady (who was sketching it), to a friend, "It is a place just made to pass the honeymoon in!" (This was not intended for my ear!) I have been far too busy to go out much, but Lady Lawrence was determined that I should be with them at the only large party she has been able to give in the Residency this season, and as I have been unable to return visits or calls, it was a good opportunity to meet everybody at once.

It is very amusing the number of lady visitors I have, they all come to call on *Mrs.* Login, but they are all eager to see the pretty things I have to show. Mrs. John Lawrence, Miss Willson and Mrs. Napier, came yesterday to help me with their advice and assistance, as to the arranging of the State jewels in the handsome box I have had prepared for them, and they promise to come again till all is finished.

How amused you would have been with the odd things that come under my inspection. Such a queer conglomeration of odds and ends has never before been seen, I do believe!

I found a fine picture of the Queen in a go-down, among a heap of other valuables, all covered with dust, and among other curiosities I have unearthed from the same place, were a lot of valuable drawings of different kinds and fine old engravings, and a little wax-cloth bag, containing a copy of Henry Martyn's Persian Testament, presented (so the inscription says) by good "Lady William Bentinck to Joseph Wolff." *How* came it here? The medley of articles in that Toshkhana is indescribable!

I have told the little Maharajah that I am in anxiety to hear from you of your safe arrival, as there are reports of several deaths on board your ship on the voyage, and it is nice to see how the little man's sympathy has been aroused, and how eagerly he asks, the first thing, if I have heard of you and Edwy.

I am overwhelmed with applications by my old writers, &c., at Lucknow for situations. I have been able to give one in my office to Mr. Sequera, but I can do no more.

There is every prospect of fine crops this year, better than for many years back; this will have more effect in keeping the country quiet than an army of 20,000 men. Chapter VI. 1849.

The immense number thrown out of employment by the breaking up of the Sikh army, and all the Court establishments, was naturally a severe and great anxiety to the Government, and endeavours are being made to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits as far as possible. Almost the first thing done, on our taking possession, was to send out engineers and workmen to open canals for irrigation throughout the Doab, and I did all in my power to urge it on, by keeping the matter constantly before Lawrence and his two coadjutors; so that I believe it was the very first order issued, on assuming full power. In consequence, we are now working hard in the magazine, breaking up old arms as fast as we can, and converting them into *powrâhs* and pick-axes, and already I have supplied Napier with many tons of them, for his work on the canals. I had the pleasure of having the first swords brought in, converted into capital scythes for mowing the grass in the soldiers' gardens, which was coming as near "pruning hooks" as circumstances permitted! I am now trying my ingenuity in breaking up cannon shot, without going to the expense of heating them, and I think I shall succeed pretty well; as they are all made of hammered iron, and beautifully finished; the expense of shot made this way must have been enormous. I am setting aside those that may suit our six and nine pounders, for trial during the artillery practice season. I have little doubt that the range of hammered shot, when well made, will be found greater than cast iron.

I have just sent in to the Governor-General a list of jewels, amounting in value to about sixteen and a half lakhs of rupees, and I daresay I shall soon have his orders as to the disposal of them. By-the-bye, I met a Madras officer the other day who knew your two brothers, John and Colin, there. He told me that on his arrival he met an officer, whom, from his extraordinary likeness to

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John in face, figure, manners, and in every way, even to his beard, must be a brother of his, whom he heard was here. It turned out to be Herbert Edwardes, of Mooltan celebrity. There must be, as I told Edwardes, a strong resemblance; his nose is certainly big enough for a *pair* of Campbells!

CITADEL, *July* 21*st*, 1849.

Moolraj is always so pleased to see me, when I have time to go in and say a kind word to him. I tell him, he can see that it is not the wish of our Government to treat him harshly, but that the only fear was that, by treating him too leniently others might be induced to do as he did, and thus the lives of many of our people may be sacrificed. He seemed perfectly to see the justice of this view of the matter, and asked me what I thought would be his punishment. I said, probably imprisonment for life. "Oh," said he, in true Oriental style, "under *your* care that would be *no* punishment!"

I have sent some letters for his son through Mr. Edgworth, the Commissioner; and I supply him with a few books and newspapers to read, as well as a Persian Testament, which, with God's blessing, may be useful to him.

He begged me to allow his "Said" (Hindoo priest) to visit him, which I did at once. But the man does not care to repeat his visits often.

Moolraj passes almost his whole time in prayer, and in writing out couplets to invoke the Deity, and propitiate Him in the way he has been taught. As his mind is so disposed that he only thinks of religion, he is anxious I should get him another copy of the Testament, in a character he can read more easily than the one I gave him, which is the Arabic character. I hope to be able to do so. He is, for a native of these parts, a well-educated man. I enclose as a curiosity for you, a paper he wrote and sent to me

yesterday, covered over with the word "*Ram-Ram-Ram*" which serves as a prayer. His own signature is on the back. Chapter VI. 1849.

As soon as the Governor-General's decision on the fate of Moolraj was made known to the Board, Mansel wrote to Login as follows:—

ANARKULLAH, *July* 21*st*, 1849.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have just heard by to-day's post from the Governor-General, that he has remitted the capital sentence on Moolraj, but that his punishment will be severe.

Will you kindly see him (Moolraj), and communicate to him privately, that this is the word of the Governor-General: "That he will not be executed."

I have received no authority to make it public, but if Moolraj is informed of it, he may be expected to tell his friends and visitors, and so the matter is no longer a secret. I have not seen you for an age. Come to dinner at eight to-morrow, and bring Wakefield. If he can't come, not being quite recovered, mind you come yourself.

Yours,

C. G. MANSEL.

# CHAPTER VII.

## LAHORE.

### LOGIN *to his* WIFE.

CITADEL, LAHORE, *Sept. 3rd*, 1849.

Chapter VII. 1849.

I am rather anxious about Sir Henry's state of health; he is far from well, and I fear will have to go to the Cape to recruit, for he cannot afford to go home. By scraping all together, he cannot make more than £700 to live on, for himself, wife, and children, and he would feel miserable at having nothing to give away to others.

I cannot but feel gratified at the entire confidence reposed in me by the Board of Administration (Henry and John Lawrence and Mansel). Almost the only instructions I get from them, when I appeal to them are, "Just do what you think right and proper, and we will support you."

Now when you consider how much must be left to my discretion in an appointment of this kind, where I am put in charge of property of all kinds, of which neither the Government (nor indeed any one else) can have any idea of the value, nor any check to enable them to judge of the amount, and it is so entirely left to me to make over this or that to the Maharajah as being, in my opinion, necessary for his use,—I think I may take it for granted that I stand high in their opinion for conscientiousness, integrity, and honesty, even

Lord Dalhousie, in acknowledging the receipt of the list of jewels, to the amount of sixteen and a half lakhs, which I sent in, thinks it necessary to express his sense of the way in which I have proved myself worthy of the Lawrences' high recommendation. He expresses himself also highly pleased with the careful manner in which the lists have been prepared. I feel that this is greatly owing to Jowahir Misr's assistance, so I do not plume myself on this or any other flattering remarks. God knows, I shall be right glad when I can get all the property safely made over, without loss or detriment to Government. I only fear that I will find myself a poorer man by having this charge laid on me; if, as I foresee, the accounts may not balance exactly, from the innumerable detailed payments that have been made, I shall of course be answerable. Chapter VII. 1849.

I feel the disadvantage often, of not having been trained to the regular work, as civilians are, when cases are brought up to me to decide and judge, but on the whole, I think I get on very well, and decide the cases impartially.

Login was very anxious to make his birthday as pleasant as possible to the little dethroned King, so he proposed to the Lawrences, in the following letter, that a sort of *fête* should be given on the occasion :—

My dear Lawrence,

The little Maharajah's birthday is to take place on Tuesday or Wednesday (the Pundits have not yet decided which, as it all depends on his *star*), but I will let you know. Don't you think it would be proper to make up a party from the Residency to offer him their good wishes?

I can have the Summun put in order, to make it look well, and if Lady L. and Mrs. John will give me help with *khidmutgars*, you can all have tea in my garden afterwards. We shall not be

Chapter VII. 1849.

able to have a very large party, and I should like to see as many children as possible, on the little fellow's account. All the Ranees are, as usual, to pay their respects, and present their *nuzzurs* on that day. We can arrange matters easily, if the European party comes early, so as not to interfere with them. I think we should fix sunrise as the time.

A little civility and attention shown on this, his first birthday since he lost his throne, would be kindly taken. It need not be in the least *official*, merely friendly; but as the natives will all dress in their best to do him honour, I think our party should *not* sport *solah* hats and shooting jackets on this occasion!

Don't you agree with me? Tell me what you think of my proposal as soon as you can, that I may make arrangements.

Yours very truly,

J. S. L.

*August 31st*, CITADEL, 1849.

On the back of this letter, in Indian fashion is scribbled this characteristic reply:—

MY DEAR LOGIN,

We are agreeable to *all* you propose (my brother John included). Let's know the day fixed.

Yours always,

H. LAWRENCE.

The following letter to his wife written the day after the *fête*, describes the proceedings:—

CITADEL, *Sep. 5th*, 1849.

Yesterday was the birthday of the little Maharajah: he is now eleven, and entering his twelth year.

Everything was done that was in my power, to give the anniversary due honour, so that he should feel the difference in his position as little as possible, and not contrast unpleasantly with the last, when he was a reigning King. No doubt, in spite of all, he did see and feel a great difference, poor little man! but nevertheless he thoroughly enjoyed himself, and was as delighted with the fireworks as any boy of his age could be. Luckily the evening was fine, though the deluge of rain in the morning was dreadful, and upset all my grand arrangements. Chapter VII. 1849.

I had the great pleasure of presenting to the Maharajah, on the morning of his birthday, a lakh of rupees' worth of his own jewels from the Toshkhana which I had been empowered by Government to select and present to him.

He appeared, therefore, dressed most splendidly; wearing, besides other jewels, the diamond aigrette and star I had selected. When I congratulated him on his appearance, he innocently remarked, that on his *last birthday* he had worn the Koh-i-noor on his arm!

The rain was so heavy, that to prevent the poor Ranees getting drenched in their finery, I ordered the wall of the Palace to be broken through, to admit them direct from their apartments, instead of going round in the rain to the ordinary entrance. They all came early, very smartly got up, to present their *nuzzurs* to their little Sovereign, and to see and speak to him a while, when offering their congratulations. I had *purdahs* put up to screen the Mahomedan ladies from observation; but the Sikh Ranees are not so particular, and were quite ready to chat with me. The little fellow gave himself up to enjoyment for the rest of the day, like a boy as he is.

I shall be truly glad when it is settled what is to be the future destination of Duleep Singh. Sir Henry and Mansel both advise his being sent to England at once; but Lord D. is not fond of suggestions, so we all wait for his decision. Sir Henry says that the Dhoon, with a large estate or Jagheer, might not be a bad thing.

Chapter VII. 1849.

Either of these plans would suit me; but if it is decided to send him to some place in Central India, and to bring him up with no other expectation than to be a mere pensioner, debauched and worthless like so many others, then I feel it is no work for me, and I'll wash my hands of the charge, take my furlough, and join you in England; but all this is in wiser hands than mine, and I leave it there contentedly.

*October 4th*, 1849.

THE SAME *to* THE SAME.

No particular news, except that Chuttur Singh, Shere Singh, and eight other chief Sirdars, have been added to my collection of curiosities in the Citadel. They have been suspected, on pretty good evidence, of holding communication with several disaffected chiefs who are still in hiding, and of having in this way broken through the agreement made with them, when they were allowed to return to their homes. Some of them are, I daresay, guilty, but against others there is little evidence. However, their arrest will be useful in putting down little intrigues which were going on, and which have required us to be on the alert.

Shere Singh wishes to be thought (as indeed he is) a devil-may-care sort of fellow, and makes himself quite at home anywhere.

His first request was for a pack of cards, and something good to eat and drink.

Old Chuttur Singh I feel most for. I shall make them as comfortable as I can; they affect to look upon it as a piece of rare good fortune to be sent to me. You see what a good name I have got for all sorts of virtues! Knowing me as you do, only think how people can be humbugged! I ought to be vain, if flattery could make me so, for I don't think anybody has had such a pat of butter administered, as I have lately. Henry Lawrence gave me a letter he had received from Macleod, as he said *you* would be pleased to know what such a man said of your husband.

It now lies before me, so I shall enclose it. I trust the effect on me will be to make me more humble, and strive *to be* what such a man as Donald Macleod believes me to be already.* Chapter VII. 1849.

CITADEL, *Oct. 24th*, 1849.

There is a report going about since last mail that, much to the honour of "our dear little Queen," she has declined to accept the Koh-i-noor as a gift, under the circumstances in which it has been offered her; indeed, I shall rejoice to hear that this is true, and I am sure that many of her subjects will rejoice with me.

I think I told you that I had urged Henry Lawrence to propose to Lord Dalhousie that the Queen's subjects all over the Empire should be allowed to embrace the opportunity of showing their love and goodwill, by offering it to her. I feel certain that it would be easy to raise a sufficient sum to purchase it,† and it would have more value in her eyes, given her in this way by her people, as a token of their respect and honour, the money to be spent for the good and benefit of her new subjects here, by making the Punjab to bloom like a garden. This may easily be done, by giving employment to the 100,000 men who have been cast adrift, making roads, bridges, and canals, and establishing schools among them, and thus showing that we are above taking anything from them in a shabby way.

This would be one way of converting the possession of the Koh-i-noor into a blessing instead of a curse, which the natives say it

* Extract of a letter from Mr.—afterwards Sir Donald—Macleod to Sir Henry Lawrence:—

DEAR LAWRENCE,

It is truly a happy thing that the young Maharajah has been entrusted to one who will so favourably impress him in respect to the uprightness, benevolence, and intellectual superiority of the European race.

D. MACLEOD.

† "Of course, it would be absurd to fix a price that would be near its intrinsic value, but I think £200,000 would meet the purpose."—J. S. L.

Chapter VII. 1849.

has been. But there! I've no doubt you will say that, as usual, my romance is running away with me.

LAHORE, *Nov. 6th*, 1849.

. . . . My work is increased just now by the seizure of Shere Singh's papers, and those of others, and the inquiries and examinations of witnesses necessary to be made in consequence, which may yet lead to important results.

I was present at a very interesting conversation the other day, between Chuttur Singh and Shere Singh with John Lawrence and Herbert Edwardes.*

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* "In the autumn of 1849 . . . . in attendance on Mr. John Lawrence, who was conducting a political investigation, I had one or two very interesting interviews with the Rajah in confinement; and in the presence of Mr. Lawrence and Dr. Login, the Superintendent of the Palace, I took the opportunity of asking the Rajah his reasons for going over to the enemy. He replied, throwing up his hands, "My evil destiny! It all took place in one night. My mind was distressed by the Sikh force being ordered away from Mooltan. More pressing letters than ever came in the very next day from my father, imploring me to join the movement; and *I wrote off to Moolraj, for the first time, to say that I would march to him next morning.*"

This is the Rajah's account of his own defection. Now let us have Moolraj's.

Moolraj's religious adviser and private secretary (his Jesuit, in short) was one Misr Kool Juss, a high caste Brahmin. This man's trial succeeded his master's, and was conducted by me. Amongst other questions, I asked him how long Rajah Shere Singh had been in correspondence with Moolraj before going over. He replied, "That the Rajah never wrote but one letter to the Dewan, all the time he was at Mooltan, and that was *the night before he came over*. We were astonished; for, though we knew all the Rajah's soldiers were our friends, we believed the Rajah himself was our enemy. He had previously rejected all overtures, punished all traitors in his camp, and fired upon our troops. When, therefore, all at once he proposed to join us, we suspected treachery, and would not admit him within the walls, but made him encamp under the guns of the fort; and up to the very day when he marched away again to join his father in Hazaruh, the Dewan and the Rajah never came to a good understanding."

The power of evidence cannot go further than this; and impartial history is, in my opinion, bound to record this verdict: that Rajah Shere Singh Atareewallah was opposed to the rebellion of Mooltan and the second Sikh war; did what he could to stop them both; but failing, sided with his family and nation.

For my own part, I pity him for giving way at last, as much as I execrate his father for leading him astray."—From Sir Herbert Edwardes's "*Year in the Punjab*," vol. ii., pp. 506-7.

I had to take notes of all that was said, and shall have to give evidence on the subject when the Governor-General arrives. It may possibly result in our settling accounts afresh with our Cashmere friend, Golâb Singh. Chapter VII. 1849.

I shall not be surprised, if certain things are proved against him, to see him ordered to countermarch a little, and take up his position beyond the Indus, giving him Peshawur and Derajet in exchange for Cashmere. He is the sort of man to hold such a country, and save us a vast deal of trouble.

Dr. McCosh is anxious to take daguerreotypes here, and begs to be allowed to come to-morrow to take likenesses of all the notabilities collected here, myself included among the number, he says! I have told him he cannot take any of the prisoners.

You would laugh if you saw me in the midst of my work trying to snatch a moment to write this. I have *moonshees* on one side, reading *purwanas* and *roobookarees* for my edification, old pensioners in front receiving their pay; on the other side, Misr Makraj, the Treasurer, asking for and receiving my orders. We are all seated in the verandah of the Toshkhana. I must stop now, for I am told John Lawrence is in sight, bearing down upon me with papers in his hand. Something wanted to be done, no doubt.

## Letter *from* Robert Adams.

Citadel, Lahore, *Nov. 2nd*, 1849.

My dear Cousin,

Login will have told you that, through his kind offices with Sir H. Lawrence, I am here on my way to join the Guide Corps at Peshawur, as second in command. I scarcely regret that I have been detained here by illness a few days, as it has given me an opportunity of seeing all the multifarious wonders, animal and mineral, over which your worthy husband keeps guard within

Chapter VII. 1849.

the Citadel, and of telling you before I leave this, how well his really *responsible* duties have agreed with him.

I must try and give you some idea of his daily work and of all he has to look after, but as I shall start by *dâk* in an hour I have little time to do it. To give human nature precedence, there is first the little Maharajah, the care of whose small person is his *specific* appointment. The little bit of Royalty himself gives little trouble, and he seems much attached to Login, looks on him as his "Ma-Bap," and won't even go out to ride in the morning, or drive in the evening, unless he will go with him. But the establishments of the King, vast and entangled as they were, must have cost him no little trouble; the cutting them down to due dimensions, the task of striking out the names of those who were entitled to no consideration, fixing the amount of the just claims of others, settling the pensions of all whose services deserved to be recognized, and retaining those whose services were required, with the preparation of lists, reports, and descriptive rolls, must have been very harassing. But the Ranees! How would you have felt if you had known that he was busily employed inspecting some hundred of queens and their female attendants, examining and noting down all the warts, moles, and freckles on their dingy countenances and fingers? Coaxing the dark beauties to unveil their faces to his prying gaze, that he might the better write down their portraits, and fix the rates of their future allowances! What fascinations they must have employed to induce him to take a liberal view of their wants, and make the paltry twenty-five a clear half hundred.

It *is* said, I know not with what truth, that the young and pretty Ranees have little reason to complain! I only hope the old and ugly have no grounds to bewail their scrimp allowances! Moolraj, another of the wild beasts of his menagerie, I was introduced to yesterday, and never was more disappointed in any man. Prepared to see a weak, attenuated frame, I did expect to see something of the hero visible on his face; but not a bit! he

looks an ordinary shrewd *buniah* with little energy. Certainly his was not the bold pluck to enter on a contest with the armies of British India, nor was his the enduring fortitude that held Mooltan against us for so long; he could only have been the tool in the hands of braver men. 

One cannot help being persuaded, when looking at him, that however just the sentence of death is on Moolraj as Dewan of Mooltan, he personally is guiltless of the blood of Agnew and Anderson.

Login manages to make time to visit him daily, and chats with him, and it is only by his kind coaxing that he can be induced to take enough to keep body and soul together. Poor wretch! one cannot help feeling pity for him, and I am glad he has fallen into such kind hands.

Chuttur Singh, Shere Singh, and ten others of less note, are in Login's custody at present, making thirteen State prisoners.

Login is now hard at work with his staff of assistants, in getting the Toshkhana of kingly valuables into order against the coming of the Governor-General, which is expected about the 20th.

I wish you could walk through that same Toshkhana and *see its wonders!* the vast quantities of gold and silver, the jewels not to be valued, so many and so rich! the Koh-i-noor, far beyond what I had imagined; and, perhaps above all, the immense collection of magnificent Cashmere shawls, rooms full of them, laid out on shelves, and heaped up in bales—it is not to be described! And all this made over to *him, without any list*, or public document of any sort, all put in his hands to set in order, value, sell, &c.; that speaks volumes, does it not, for the character he bears with those whose good opinions are worth having? Few men, I fancy, would have been so implicitly trusted.

He will come out of it all none the richer, but probably poorer, for his pay is not quite so much as he had at Lucknow. I hear he is constantly bothered by people coming to beg he will show them the jewels, &c., and he is too kind-hearted to refuse;

Chapter VII. 1849.

but now he says he must fix one day in the week to let them be exhibited, and thus secure peace on other days. My *dâk* is ready, I must stop.*

Your affectionate cousin,

ROBERT R. ADAMS.

P.S.—The enclosed rough memorandum will amuse you.†

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*The writer of this letter, after having served in the Guides (as second in command), was made an Assistant-Commissioner by John Lawrence, and afterwards Deputy-Commissioner in Hazara. He was assassinated at Peshawur in 1864, when Deputy-Commissioner of that city, being cut down by a fanatic as he was riding near the Cabuli Gate.

† Memorandum of Memorabilia, under charge of
JOHN SPENCER LOGIN,
in the Citadel of Lahore,
April 6th, 1849.

The young RULER of the Sikhs.

The FAMILIES of Runjeet Singh and of all the successive Maharajahs of the Punjab, including thirty-three Ranees and 130 concubines.

The PRINCES of the Abdalee family, rulers of Afghanistan and Cashmere.

The *Court Establishment* of all the Lahore Maharajahs, including six sets of courtezans, natives of Cashmere, and five full bands of musicians.

The NAWABS of Mooltan and their families.

*State Prisoners.*

Moolraj, ex-Nazim of Mooltan.

Rajah Chuttur Singh.

Rajah Shere Singh.

Rajah Lal Singh,

and ten other men of note, including Hakim Rai and his two sons.

The female attendants of Ranee Jinda, from Chunar, were added to this list.

The keys and royal seals of the Motee Munden and of Govindghur (royal treasuries).

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THE DIAMOND (KOH-I-NOOR).

The State jewels and treasures in gold, silver, and precious stones; dishes, plates, cups, cooking pots, and *gurrahs* of gold and silver.

The vast store of Cashmere shawls, *chogas*, &c.

LOGIN *to his* WIFE.

CITADEL, *Nov. 22nd*, 1849.

Still busy; I shall be glad when I can give a "good account of my stewardship." Not that I have any wish whatever that by doing my work well here I may get something higher, but merely to satisfy my own conscience that I have done my duty.

I have sent in my pension lists, and was not a little gratified at what Burn told me. The Board sent them up to Government with high commendations, and drew attention to the fact (which I did not particularly notice), that by exercising a sound discretion, and paying off the establishments *promptly*, with and without gratuities, I had saved a large sum to Government. Mr. P. Melvill, the new Secretary (who is much in Lord Dalhousie's confidence), told me that I am much too useful to part with just now, and that I am far more likely to be kept at Lahore by Lord Dalhousie, than to be sent away with the little boy. I only tell *you* this because you will be pleased to hear that I give satisfac-

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Runjeet's golden chair of State; his silver summer-house, gold and silver poled; tents and camp-equipage of rich Cashmere; arms and armour, very magnificent.

Shah Sooja's State pavilion, gorgeously embroidered.

Relics of the Prophet: his shoes, walking-stick, shirt, cap, and pyjamas; his book of prayers in the Kufic character; several locks of his hair.

The Kulgee "plume" of the last Gûrû (Govind).

The sword of the Persian hero Roostum, taken from Shah Sooja by Runjeet Singh.

The sword of Wuzeer Fathie Khan, founder of the Baruksye family at Cabul and Candahar.

The sword of Holkar (an old Spanish blade).

The armour worn by the warriors and Sirdars of note, many of them stained with their blood.

The wedding garment of Maha Singh;

besides these, many valuable curiosities and relics of all kinds, too numerous to note.

Chapter VII. 849.

tion. I have no desire for distinction; I am much more anxious "to be content with such things as I have."

I am now *in* my fortieth year, and have seen probably the largest half of my pilgrimage; and while full of health and energy, would like to devote what remains of it to higher duties than this world's ambition; but God knows what is in store for me, and will make all work together for my good, if I only seek Him earnestly.

I saw Lady Lawrence yesterday; she looks better than she has done for years. I shall not feel at all surprised if Henry makes up his mind to go home and settle down on his £700 a year, and bring up his boys. He is harassed and worried a good deal, and can't take disappointments easily.

If he does go, what do you say to my following his example, and living in his neighbourhood? Lady L. and you get on quite as well as Sir Henry and I. We often talk over this idea when he gets depressed over his work.

Lady L. seems much pleased with the composition of the civil staff in the Punjab, and hopes great things from them. I still expect to see Tucker here, and then with Montgomery, Donald Macleod, and Edgworth we shall be excellently well set up with Commissioners, whom it would be a real pleasure to work with.

This is certainly a noble country in climate and productions, far beyond any other part of our dominions in Hindostan. The hot weather is certainly trying, but the cold weather more than makes up for it, and it is delightful to see the rosy cheeks of the children now.

I have a large party of officials coming to inspect arrangements, and must break off. My ideas on the subject of retirement are as strong as ever, and I shall not be easily tempted to give them up; it appears to me to be a duty I owe to my children. It all resolves itself into contentment with the means we possess.

I have promised the Maharajah to take him to see the races to-day.

We have just returned, and I confess that in spite of my telling your brother Charles I hoped he would lose the race—to make him give up racing—as soon as I saw his and your clan tartan (Campbell) on his jockey, I could not help wishing it success. Duleep Singh was much excited about Charles's horses, and was delighted when he won a good race. The General (Gilbert) rode his own horse and won his own cup, and was vastly pleased about it; he came up to the carriage after the race and had a long talk with me. I try to make the Maharajah understand the difference between enjoying a race for the sport's sake, and enjoying it for the purpose of betting and gambling, but as he has few amusements now, I don't like to refuse him a little pleasure, and he is delighted to come. I am very anxious to get in my lists, and statements, and accounts of public property before the Governor-General arrives, and thus grudge every moment that is not given to my work. I think what I have done will show him that I am not idle, and that he has got an industrious and honest man here in charge, and one whom as a public servant he must respect.

The fellows under me work very hard, seeing that I do not spare myself. I have now got orders as to where all the State prisoners are to be sent, and who are to be let off, and I am making private arrangements to carry this out, and enquiring among their families as to whom they would like best to have with them. Poor wretches! they are to be pitied after all. I rather think if I had been a Sikh I should have been out in the '48! But still we must take care of ourselves, and not let them loose at present.

Sir Charles Napier is coming next week, and I shall have little peace while he and the Governor-General remain, as I shall have to show them all the lions of the Punjab, and answer such heaps of questions. The pat of butter from Lord D., which I told you of, has been as satisfactory to the Lawrences as it has been to me.

It is amusing, going the rounds of the guards, as sometimes I

Chapter VII. 1849.

do, to hear the different titles they give me, the favourite one is Killah-ki-Malik Bahadoor. The little Maharajah has been to play in my garden; he is really a fine boy, and I know you would like him much.

I am having his place of residence put in thorough order before the Governor-General sees it, and I think when he *does* see the home the boy has had, he could never have it in his heart to send him to a shabby one.

I am told it is not unlikely that the old Begum Sumroo's palace near Meerut (Sirdanah) may be fixed upon.

I am writing this at four a.m. I cannot for the life of me sleep more than five hours, but these I do well, and I am in perfect health.

I have just had another addition to my responsibilities, in the shape of sixteen women, the Ranee Jinda's attendants, whom she left behind when she escaped from Chunar; I must try and distribute them among the other Khaneem. They are mostly hill women, and much better looking than the others here.

Sir C. Napier writes me to show him the litters *first*, before anything else, so I must get them ready. . . . .

In the little garden in front of the marble hall, on a handsome marble platform, I have erected a silver summer-house, 16 feet square, made some years ago for Runjeet Singh in Cashmere. It is really beautiful work, and it will look perfectly lovely and unique, the more so from the excellent site and background I have chosen for it. Standing in the marble hall the effect is enchanting, with its background of orange trees in full bearing, the dark-green foliage, and the sparkling fountains.

I intend to have a party of children down on Saturday to have a little play with the Maharajah, and to eat fruit in it. By showing it off in this way, I have some hope that the Governor-General will make it over to the young Maharajah, or, if he will not consent to this, at least allow *him* to make a present of it to the young Prince of Wales, along with some

of his handsome Sikh armour and dresses, there being some of a splendid description made for himself, and only suitable for a young boy. I do not know how the Governor-General may take the suggestion, so I shall say nothing until I see Elliot on the subject. Chapter VII. 1849.

Octavius Anson is still with me. I like him very much. A fine, gentlemanly, right-minded man. I am glad of the opportunity of knowing him, as well as you did his poor young wife. He seems to like me also. At this moment he is writing to his cousin, Lady Rosebery, to ask her to invite you out to Dalmeny, near Edinburgh, for change of air after your illness. He says he is sure you would like her, that she is a very pleasant creature.

At the races this morning the little Maharajah was quite excited. Some wag had entered a horse under the name of "Dr. Login," which caused much amusement! I could not wait till the race was ended, as I had an appointment, but the boy was delighted that he was a winner of some small stakes.

## Herbert Edwardes announces the approach of the Governor-General.

RESIDENCY, LAHORE, *Nov. 27th*, 1849.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Will you render Fagan any assistance in you power to water the roads on which the Governor-General will enter to-morrow? You might spare a party of men for the purpose. He is expected at eight a.m. John Lawrence and the Sirdars go out about seven a.m. to meet him, and your company is requested, but, of course, *not* your ward's. Please join us on the Parade.

Yours sincerely,

HERBERT EDWARDES.

Chapter VII. 1849.

The following letter from Login to his wife was written under sadder auspices, he having just received the news of the death of his brother James :—

LAHORE, *Nov. 28th*, 1849.

You will be little prepared for the sad intelligence I have to send you, of the sudden death of my poor dear brother, James; it occurred at Dinapore, on the 13th, from *cholera*, after twelve hours' illness. He had come down from Khatmandoo in high health, to pass his examination at Calcutta, and was suddenly struck down on his way back, at Dinapore. . . . . For the last two days I have not had a moment's leisure, preparing for the coming of the Governor-General, who arrived this morning. If, under the circumstances, I could derive much pleasure from any worldly praise, I have had sufficient to satisfy me.

I was introduced by John Lawrence to Lord Dalhousie with much warmth of commendation. His lordship said that, "he had heard on all sides how much satisfaction I had given in discharging my duties, which were of no ordinary delicacy, and that I had acquitted myself *well*." He said he wished to have a long conversation with me, and appointed twelve to-day.

I have just returned from him (two p.m.). He told me that, after much consideration, it had been determined to remove the little Maharajah to Futtehghur, and that he wished much that I should continue in charge of him there on my present allowances, and do all that I could to make him comfortable and happy.

He said "it had been quite a *relief* to the Government, and to him, to have me in charge of the Maharajah, and that the way I had done my duty towards the Maharajah, and the Government, was in every way satisfactory to both." He was really very kind and cordial indeed; told me that he did not wish to restrict me to Futtehghur, but that I might take him to Agra or Delhi, or any of the neighbouring places, whenever I liked, and *eventually*

*to England* in course of a year or two. I then had an opportunity of giving him my ideas regarding the advantages of sending some young Sikh nobles to England, and showing them something of our power and resources. And then what came next? Poor Dryburgh was to have been appointed this day to the charge of the Nepalese Mission to England! I told Lord Dalhousie what had occurred, and he was much shocked, and sympathized with me most cordially. Chapter VII. 1849.

P.S.—Lord Dalhousie also approves of an estate for the Maharajah after a few years.

CITADEL, LAHORE, *Dec. 7th*, 1849.

After Lord Dalhousie had inspected all my work in the Citadel, and had witnessed how happy the young Maharajah was with me, he said that he did not *compliment* me, but congratulated me, most heartily, on the success with which I had performed a most delicate and difficult duty, and that I had effected far more than could have been expected from *any one*. He then thanked me, and shook hands with me warmly.

That very night, however, as if to show me the emptiness of human praise, and perhaps to bring down any little pride I may have felt in showing all my work to the Governor-General, at midnight my Toshkhana was robbed, and property to the amount of 20,000 rupees carried off (this out of some thirteen or fourteen lakhs was not very much); but in what way was greater loss prevented? Why, by the providential circumstance of the place catching fire accidentally, by the light brought in by the thieves! Had this not occurred and caused the discovery, I should have been ruined! Immediately on the fire being discovered I was called, broke open the door and got the fire out, which had done little damage, and found that a breach had been made in the wall, by which the thieves had entered. This, with sentries all around, was rather

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strange. What if it should turn out that it was with their connivance, and that the European sentry then on duty had a hand in it? Can any foresight provide against that?

The native sentry, it is true, is posted in the same court, but he is not exactly in the same position, and the European can easily manage to keep him at a distance, when he wishes to do so.

On the discovery being made, I promptly sent orders to all the gates not to let a soul pass out without a written pass from me; put all the sentries on the alert; and commenced a strict search all round (it had occurred before one in the morning) in case the thieves might still be in hiding; got the Kotwal and his people from the city, and the assistant-magistrates, to set to work, offering a reward of 1,000 rupees, diminishing by one hundred daily until the property was discovered.

I also shut up every person in the Citadel in their respective quarters, placing sentries to prevent communications, until our search was made. Nothing was found until five p.m. on Sunday, when a box was brought in which had contained a pistol, and bore my Toshkhana mark. This had been detected under some rubbish near the European Artillery Barracks. I may mention that the Barracks had been searched, but not satisfactorily; and the officer commanding (Money, you remember him at Lucknow) had thrown obstacles in the way, for which he has been well "wigged."

This, with the circumstance that some lucifer matches were found near the breach in the wall, gave me a clue to further discovery, and the result has been, that I have recovered already eight-tenths of the articles stolen (chiefly gold vessels), and I hope to get the remainder before very long. They have all been dug up in the little houses adjoining, and in the loose earth at the road-side.

I felt certain that the property must still be within the walls, as such prompt action had been taken, and there was no time to

carry them off; I kept a strict watch and search at all the gates. Chapter VII. 1849.

It unfortunately happened, however, that the Governor-General had fixed to return in State* the Maharajah's visit, and to pass n at the gate in procession, and through the Citadel; therefore, I had to take measures to prevent any of the Citadel people getting out when Lord Dalhousie's party left, or from carrying off any property under the *jules* of the *howdahs*, in the crowd. My measures were crowned with success. I shut up every avenue leading to the main street, which the troops were to line, an hour before the procession came, gave orders to confine all camp-followers to their quarters, and prevented the people in the Citadel from joining in the procession, telling them to see as much as they could from the house-tops. Well, all went off splendidly. The orderly arrangement and the appearance of *my* Durbar was greatly admired; and on accompanying the Governor-General to his tent, he expressed again his acknowledgments, and assured me that, seeing all my arrangements were so perfect, no blame could possibly attach to *me*.

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* *Copy of Official Notification of Governor-General's Visit.*

On Monday, at four o'clock, the Governor-General will proceed in State, and under a salute of twenty-one guns from the artillery in the camp, to return the visit of the Maharajah Duleep Singh. The members of the Board, all the secretaries and the personal staff will be in attendance.

Some one on the part of the Maharajah will come to the Governor-General's camp, for *istigbal*—probably Maharajah Shere Singh's son.

The Maharajah with his Governor will come out of the fort on an elephant to receive and conduct the Governor-General.

The Governor-General and his party will sit on the right, and that of the Maharajah on the left.

The Governor-General will present a *serwana* of 5,000 rupees, as usual. After a few minutes' conversation, fifty-one trays of articles, with seven horses and one elephant with gold *howdah*, should be presented by the Maharajah, and also the usual trays to all the secretaries and aide-de-camps in attendance.

*Uttur* will then be served, and the Governor-General will take leave.

The Maharajah will conduct His Lordship as far as the place where His Lordship will mount his elephant.

A salute of twenty-one guns to be fired in the fort on the arrival and departure of the Governor-General.

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I had not *then* recovered any of the missing articles, but felt assured in my own mind that I should have them before long.

He approved highly of all the steps I had taken, and of the reward offered. I dined with Lord Dalhousie that evening, and attended Lady Dalhousie's reception afterwards. At the conclusion, Lord Dalhousie took me into his private tent for an hour to talk over matters. He told me that if he mentioned the affair of the robbery to the Court of Directors, it would only be with the intention of showing them the debt of gratitude owing to me for my wonderful arrangements, which had prevented any greater loss than this, which was a mere trifle to what it might have been. I asked him to bestow some mark of his approval on my great helper and assistant, Misr Makraj, the old State Treasurer, as being in my belief *an honest man*. He has made him a noble of the land, and I feel more pleased than if I had got honours myself!

Sir Charles Napier has been very kind indeed, and claimed me as an old acquaintance. His daughter, Mrs. McMurdo, has been sketching up at my quarters several times with Mrs. Colin McKenzie. She managed to take a sketch of the young boy surreptitiously.

I have been with Lord Dalhousie again all this morning, taking his instructions regarding the boy, to whom he has taken a great fancy, and I am now expecting him here at the Toshkhana, as he is coming up quietly for a private view, and again to-morrow morning.

Since writing the former part of this letter, I have had the good fortune to recover more of the stolen property—indeed I may say all—and besides I have secured the very men concerned in the robbery, one of them having come to me and voluntarily confessed it. They are European artillerymen, I am sorry and ashamed to say. Four of them are in custody, and a woman connected with the affair is by this time arrested in Ferozepore. There will be no difficulty in bringing it home to them, the evidence we have is so complete.

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When the Governor-General met me, after he heard of my success, he clapped me on the back and congratulated me most heartily! (Certainly there is a great deal of cordiality about him.)

When I was with Duleep Singh at the Garden *Fête* given to the soldiers by Lawrence, the boy's fancy was much taken by some Highlanders in full dress. Lord Dalhousie said, "Login, tell him they are my countrymen."

I was much amused at his admiration of the way I had turned out the Maharajah's equipage; he declares he has "seen nothing so smart out of England." After all, it is only the old carriage with the box taken off, and made to sit gracefully on its springs; he said, "Why don't you take Lawrence's turn-out in hand!"

I have taken the Governor-General to visit Moolraj, also Chuttur Singh and Shere Singh, afterwards he came in to call on Duleep, in a friendly way.

I get little time to myself, as he comes again at four p.m., and I have to dine with him again; however, he has told me to bring this letter with me to go in his bag, otherwise it will be too late. He is writing by this mail to the Queen, an account of his visit to the Maharajah, and how pleased he is with everything. Mrs. John Lawrence is sending home her children under Herbert Edwardes's charge; mind you go to see them, that I may give her your report. Tell me if you think Edwardes like your brother John.

So much romance being attached to the famous Koh-i-noor, of which Login had charge at this time, some account of it here may be of interest. The following extract is from the "*Life of Lord Lawrence*":—

Shortly before the decree of annexation went forth, Lord Dalhousie had written to Henry Lawrence to make every

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disposition for the safe custody of the State jewels, which were about to fall into the lap of the English. In a letter dated April 27th, on the subject of the Maharanee, who had just escaped from our hands, he remarks, "This incident three months ago would have been inconvenient, now it does not so much signify, at the same time it is discreditable, and I have been annoyed by the occurrence. As guardians seem so little to be trusted, I hope you have taken proper precautions in providing full security for the jewels and Crown property at Lahore, whose removal would be a more serious affair than that of the Maharanee." It had, in fact, been found more than once on the enrolment of some new province in our Empire, which, whether by cession, by lapse, or forcible annexation was growing, or about to grow, so rapidly, that the State jewels or money had had a knack of disappearing; it is amusing to read the expressions of virtuous indignation which bubble over from our officers at the extravagance or rapacity or carelessness of the former owners, when, on entering a palace which they deemed would be stocked with valuables ready for English use, they found that the treasury was empty and the jewels were gone. Great care was therefore needful, especially as among the Punjab jewels was the matchless Koh-i-noor, the "mountain of light," which it was intended should be expressly surrendered by the young Maharajah to the English Queen.

The origin of this peerless jewel is lost in the mists of antiquity. It had fallen into the hands of the early Turkish invaders of India, and from them it had passed to the Moguls. "My son Humayoun," says the illustrious Baber, one of the most lovable of all Eastern monarchs, "has won a jewel from the Raja, which is valued at half the daily expenses of the whole world."

A century or two later the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah, seeing it glitter in the turban of Baber's conquered descendant, exclaimed with rough and somewhat costly humour, "We will be friends, let us change turbans in pledge of friendship," and the exchange of course took place.

The Afghan conqueror, Ahmed Shah, wrested it in his turn from the feeble hand of Nadir Shah's successor, and so it came into the possession of Shah Sooja, who was by turn the pensioner and the puppet of the English, and the miserable pretext of the first disastrous Afghan war. Half prisoner and half guest of Runjeet Singh, he had, of course, been relieved by the one-eyed, money-loving Sikh of the responsibility of keeping such a valuable treasure. Runjeet, listening on his death-bed to the suggestions of a wily Brahmin, had been half disposed, like many other death-bed penitents, to make his peace with the other world by sending the beautiful jewel to adorn the idol of Juggernaut; but fate reserved it for the ultimate possession of the English Crown. Chap. VII. 1849.

To this we may add the following statement, obtained by Login at the request of Lord Dalhousie :—

STATEMENT OF MISR MAKRAJ,

*Treasurer to H.M. the Maharajah Duleep Singh*

(for upwards of thirty-two years employed in the Toshkhana at Lahore), *with regard to the Koh-i-noor, from the time that it came into Runjeet's possession.*

Shah Sooja-Ool-Moolk, at the time the Koh-i-noor was taken from him by Runjeet Singh, was in confinement with his family in the house of the Dewan Lukput Rai, near the Shah Alum Gate, or Putree Durwaza. The Maharajah sent to him Dewan Motee Ram, Fakeer Azizoodeen, and others, to demand the jewel from him, and he sent by their hands a large *pookraj* (topaz) of a yellow colour, which the Shah stated to be the Koh-i-noor. On this being shown to the Maharajah, who was then in the Summun, he sent for jewellers to ascertain whether this were the Koh-i-noor or not; and on being told by them it

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was *not* the Koh-i-noor, he kept the topaz, but sent immediate orders to place the Shah under restraint (*tungai*), and to prevent him from eating or drinking until the Koh-i-noor demanded was given up, as he had attempted to impose upon the Maharajah by sending a topaz instead. After this restraint had been continued about eight hours, the Shah gave up the Koh-i-noor to the Vakeels above named, who immediately brought it to the Maharajah in the Summun, where it was shown to the jewellers who had remained with the Maharajah at the palace until the return of the Vakeels. The Maharajah had dressed for the evening Durbar, and was seated in his chair, when the jewel was brought to him. It was brought in a box lined with crimson velvet, into which it had been fitted, and was presented to the Maharajah, who expressed great satisfaction.

It was at that time set alone (singly) in an enamelled setting, with strings to be worn as an armlet. He placed it on his arm, and admired it, then, after a time, replaced in its box, which, with the topaz, he made over to Belee Ram, to be placed in the Toshkhana, under the charge of Misr Bustee Ram Toshkhanea. The Toshkhana being then in the Motee Bazaar, at the house of Ramsaker Gurwai (now Lal Singh's Toshkhana), who placed it in a chest there. After a little while it was taken by the Maharajah to Amritsur under charge of Belee Ram, along with other articles of the Toshkhana, and carried along with the Maharajah, wherever he went, under a strong guard.

It was always carried in a large camel trunk, placed on the *leading* camel (but this was known only to the people of the Toshkhana). The whole string of camels, which generally consisted of about one hundred, being well guarded by troops. In camp, this box was placed between two others alike, close to the pole of the tent, Misr Belee Ram's bed very close to it, none but his relatives and confidential servants having access to the place.

For four or five years it was worn as an armlet, then fitted up as a *sirpêsh* for the turban, with a diamond drop of a *tolah* weight (now in the Toshkhana) attached to it. It was worn in this manner for about a year, on three or four occasions, when it was again made up as an armlet, with a diamond on each side, *as at present*. It has now been used as an armlet for upwards of twenty years. Chapter VII. 1849.

Shah Sooja remained at Lahore after this for ten months or a year, and then made his escape with his family, taking the guard with him. The Koh-i-noor remained under the charge of Belee Ram, as above stated.

Shortly before the death of Runjeet Singh, Rajah Dhyan Singh, Wuzeer, sent for Belee Ram, and stated that the Maharajah had expressed, by signs, that he wished the Koh-i-noor to be given away in charity (the Maharajah being then speechless). Misr Belee Ram objected, saying, that "it was only fit to be possessed by a king! and to whom could it be given in charity?" Rajah Dhyan Singh said "to the Brahmins at Juggernaut." But Belee Ram objected to this, stating that it ought to remain with the Maharajah's descendants, and that already twenty-one lakhs of rupees, and jewels, and gold, &c., had been given away to the Brahmins. He thus exposed himself to the greatest emnity on the part of Rajah Dhyan Singh, and after the accession of Maharajah Khurruck Singh, and the assassination of Cheyt Singh, Rajah Dhyan Singh obtained uncontrolled power, and threw Misr Belee Ram into prison, where he was kept for four months, the keys of the Toshkhana having been handed over to Tej Chund.

However, on the accession of Maharajah Shere Singh, Misr Belee Ram was once again called into office, and continued during his reign.

On the day after Shere Singh's death, Belee Ram was seized by Heera Singh's people and sent to the house of Nawab Sheik Imamoodeen, by whom he was *disposed* of in the *Tykhana*

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(underground room) of his house, along with his brother, Ram Kissen, and Bhaee Goormukee Singh.

At the time of Belee Ram's seizure the keys of the Toshkhana and of the jewels were with his nephew, Gunesh Doss, who was with his uncle, and from him the keys were taken by Rajah Lal Singh, who, at the same time, put him in confinement, along with six others of Belee Ram's family, including Misr Makraj,* but still making them perform their duties in the Toshkhana, though the keys were given to Bowanee Doss and Kurrum Singh.

On the death of Heera Singh they were released, and after the removal of Lal Singh from power, the charge of the Toshkhana and Koh-i-noor again came into the hands of Misr Makraj, with whom it has continued without intermission until made over to the undersigned on 6th May, 1849, when taken possession of by the British Government.

*(Signed)* J. S. LOGIN.

The Koh-i-noor was brought from the old Toshkhana by Dr. Login, and placed with the other valuables in the Citadel, under guard.

The old treasurer, Misr Makraj, gave him every assistance, and said "the relief to his mind was great at being free of responsibility." He said that the Koh-i-noor had been the cause of so many deaths, having been fatal to so many of his own family, that he never expected to be spared!

* Belee Ram's younger brother.

Login followed the advice given him by Misr Makraj—when showing the jewel to visitors, to keep it in his *own* hand, with the ribbon cords that tied it as an armlet twisted round his fingers. It was still set, as before described, as an armlet, with a diamond on each side of the Koh-i-noor as a contrast of size.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## FUTTEHGHUR.

Chapter VIII. 1850.

THAT the removal of the young ex-King from the Punjab was contemplated with no little anxiety by the Government at Calcutta; that most elaborate precautions were taken to prevent his abduction on the road; and that the protection of a very strong escort of troops was deemed necessary to guard against surprise, will appear from the following official despatches:—

*From* SIR HENRY ELLIOT, K.C.B., SECRETARY, *to the* GOVERNMENT *of* INDIA, *with the* GOVERNOR-GENERAL; *to the* BOARD *of* ADMINISTRATION *for the affairs of the* PUNJAB.

(*Dated*) CAMP BULLOKHEE, *Dec.* 11*th*, 1849.

SIRS,

The Governor-General has from the first considered it essential that Maharajah Duleep Singh should not continue to reside in the Punjab after its annexation to the British Empire.

2. The lateness of the season in April last, and His Lordship's unwillingness to expose him to the fatigue of a long journey in the hot weather, induced the Governor-General to defer his removal until the end of the year.

3. The Governor-General having had an opportunity of showing all due respect and courtesy to His Highness at Lahore, conceives that his departure should no longer be delayed. Chapter VIII. 1850.

4. Preparations for this purpose have already been made. A residence has been provided for the Maharajah at Futtehghur, befitting his rank and station.

5. The troops which were to escort the Maharajah have been provided. A squadron of the Body Guard will arrive at Lahore in a few days, and two companies of Her Majesty's 18th Regiment are waiting there also.

6. The Governor-General lately requested His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to give orders for the escort of a regiment of native infantry being added to the troops already mentioned. Application should be made to the Major-General commanding in the Punjab for the further arrangements of this escort, His Excellency's intentions having no doubt been communicated to him.

7. The Governor-General, I am further directed to state, is entirely satisfied with the past services of Dr. Login, in the position he has occupied towards the Maharajah. His Lordship thinks that nothing better could be desired by the Government, and nothing could be more advantageous to the future comfort and happiness of the *boy*, than that Dr. Login should continue for the present to have charge of him and of all his affairs.

8. The Governor-General begs that the full approbation of the Government for his past services may be conveyed to Dr. Login, and His Lordship's confidence that in the future discharge of his duties he will continue to merit the praise of the Government, and will confer lasting and real benefit on the young Maharajah.

9. Dr. Login will continue to draw a consolidated salary of 1,200 rupees a month. It is not just that the whole of this salary should be defrayed by the Government, and His Lordship considers that a fair division should be made, and that one-half should be

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paid by the British Government, the other half defrayed from the annual income of His Highness.

10. Dr. Login will have entire authority over His Highness's household during his boyhood. He will be placed under the direct control of the Governor-General, after leaving the jurisdiction of the Board of Administration in the Punjab. Monthly diaries or reports should be made by him to the Secretary to the Government of India in this department, and copies of his accounts should be rendered quarterly in the same department.

11. Doctor Login will, as soon as practicable after his arrival, report on the precautions to be taken for His Highness's security in the event—which His Lordship thinks an improbable one—of any design being entertained for carrying him off; and he will suggest such measures as he may consider necessary. Care must be taken to guard against any intrigues on the part of his mother, the Maharanee, who is now residing under guard at Khatmandoo, and who has refused to return to the British territories, but whose avowed intention is to regain possession of her son, the Maharajah.

12. The Governor-General conceives it to be desirable to remove at the same time from the Punjab the child who is, it is believed, the only legitimate son of the Maharajah Shere Singh. He can, for the present, occupy the same residence as the Maharajah, under such regulations as may be thought right. He should be treated as a companion of the Maharajah, but as in all respects his inferior.

13. In both cases a very careful selection should be made of the attendants who are to accompany them. In the case of the child, especially, there can be no reason for taking almost any servant from Lahore,* and both should be prevented from having

* In an official letter to Secretary to Government, dated February 6th, 1850, Login says, that owing to the Shahzadah's tender age (six and a half years), and

any one about them, except such persons as Dr. Login may consider from his experience to be worthy of trust. Chapter VIII. 1850.

14. The Governor-General finally requests that a report may be forwarded of the arrangements made by the Board in pursuance of the foregoing instructions, and of the servants, property, &c. . . . . to be taken, after the departure of the Maharajah.

I have, &c.,

H. M. ELLIOT, *Sec. to the Government of India.*

In forwarding a copy of the above to Dr. Login, Major H. P. Burn, Deputy Secretary to the Punjab Board of Administration, after some remarks on the earlier portion of it, adds by direction of the Board that—

No man of doubtful character should be permitted to accompany the camp. You should keep, he says, two or three trusty persons at all times with the Maharajah in addition to the armed guard. Care should be taken against his being inveigled away at night, quite as much as against armed violence. The Board have much pleasure in being the medium of conveying to you the present handsome tribute of the approbation of the Government, in which they cordially join.

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the suddenness of the order for his removal, he had thought it advisable, to prevent any appearance of undue harshness, to permit the mother to accompany the child, in the hope that afterwards, "when the boy could dispense with female attendance . . . . she might more easily be induced to leave him" in Dr. Login's care, and return to her own family at Kangra. In thus departing from his instructions he acted with the approval of Sir H. Lawrence.

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*From* MAJOR H. P. BURN, *Deputy Secretary to the* BOARD *of* ADMINISTRATION, *to* J. S. LOGIN, ESQ., M.D., *Agent to the* GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *in charge of the* EX-MAHARAJAH; *by direction of Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., President.*

LAHORE, *Dec.* 21*st*, 1849—7 *a.m.*

SIR,

1. I am directed by the Board to call upon you for a reply to my letter of the 14th inst. . . . . detailing the arrangements you propose to make for the safety of Maharajah Duleep Singh during the march to Futtehghur, and forwarding a list of servants and establishment accompanying the camp.

2. The Board cannot too strongly impress on you the necessity of the utmost watchfulness. The strong escort will prevent all chance of open rescue; your chief care should, therefore, be against secret abstraction, especially at night.

3. Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert has been requested to inform the officer commanding the escort that you, as Agent of the Governor-General, are responsible for the Maharajah, and that therefore your instructions are to be attended to. This, of course, merely refers to guards, hours of marching, &c. . . . . and will not in any way interfere with the authority of the commanding officer, in the event of the troops being called on to act. Cordiality and free intercourse with the military will, of course, be observed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. P. BURN, *Major.*

P.S.—4. Since this letter was written, the President has witnessed your departure at nine a.m., although the hour of seven was fixed. He was surprised to perceive that you were only accompanied by twenty of the Body Guard, without an officer.

5. The Board wish to impress on your mind that your chief danger is an attempt at rescue *on the road*, on which account you should be accompanied on the march by at least one hundred horsemen, and a portion of the infantry should be ready to receive you on the new ground, and one company or so should leave the old encampment, so as to be fallen in with by the Maharajah's party about midway of the march. It is not the attack of an army that you have to guard against, but of a hundred or more desperadoes ready to sell their lives. Chapter VIII. 1850.

6. Lights should be kept in the Maharajah's tent, and a double sentry at each door. The Europeans should be saved as much as possible during the day, and employed at night.

H. P. BURN, *Major.*

*From* MAJOR H. P. BURN, &c., &c., *to* DR. LOGIN, &c., &c., *Ferozepore.*

LAHORE, *Dec.* 23*rd*, 1849.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd inst., No. 2, and to inform you that the Board consider your arrangements judicious and proper. The plan of European orderlies is very good. Your explanation regarding the absence of the European officer when leaving Lahore, is satisfactory as far as he is concerned, but the Board would observe that the whole of the Body Guard, excepting those required with their baggage, should march with the Maharajah.

2. The Board desire me to repeat the expression of their sense of the value of your services while employed under them, and trust implicitly to your continued attention and good management, for the safety and comfort of the Maharajah on his march to Futtehghur.

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3. Copy of a circular to the Commissioners of Ferozepore, Loodiana, and Umballa is herewith enclosed for your information; and also of one to the magistrates of Saharunpore, Mozuffernuggur, Bolundshuhur, and Furruckabad.

4. You are requested to briefly post progress *daily* until you cross the Jumna, and then weekly until arrival at Futtehghur.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. P. Burn, *Major.*

The circular referred to requires the above-named Commissioners to "attend the camp of Maharajah Duleep Singh through their jurisdiction, instruct their police to be alert, and themselves take such measures as will ensure the comfort and safety of the Maharajah and party. Every respect was to be paid the Maharajah by all holding intercourse with him, but visits and public ceremonies are not to be permitted. Salutes of courtesy are (also) not required." The magistrates are informed of the approach of the camp of the ex-King, and desired to "attend to all the requisitions of Dr. Login, and in every way exert themselves for the comfort and safety of the Maharajah."

Login's own letters to his wife at home, will best describe the last days at Lahore, the incidents of the march, and the daily life and surroundings of the young Prince and his nephew, in their new home at Futtehghur.

*Jan. 2nd*, 1850. Chapter VIII, 1850.

. . . . It was a great relief to me to get away from Lahore. After Macgregor (who took over charge from me) had given me a receipt for the *bodies* of Moolraj, Chuttur Singh, Shere Singh, and Co., it occurred to me that it would be a bit of a curiosity in after days, if I could get them all to sign their names together on a single document as a souvenir. So I drew up a *Razeenama* in Persian, which they all signed in duplicate with great readiness. This gives me a spare copy to give away, as well as one to keep. I shall deposit it along with the receipt for the Koh-i-noor, which was written by Lord Dalhousie himself, in the presence of Sir H. Elliot, Sir H. Lawrence, Mansel, and John Lawrence, and countersigned by them all. They also affixed their seals, as well as my own, to the State jewels, when I delivered them over. This document will be worth keeping I think, and something for my children to look at when I am gone.

On my birthday the Maharajah sent me as *his* present, a large chesnut Arab, a fine powerful animal; it was much admired by everybody. Of course I could not refuse his gift, and shall ride him occasionally on the march, paying for his keep myself from that day; but he is, and shall remain, the property of the little man to all intents and purposes. I have written Major Scott, to ask him to let me have his boy Tommy as companion for the Maharajah, and to be educated with him when I can get a good tutor sent out from England. I have asked Henry Lawrence to consult Dr. Duff when he arrives at Lahore as to the best way to set about getting one; he is sure to be able to help us, as he goes to England shortly; in the meantime I must find some one to carry on the boy a bit, to fit him for a good tutor. I must not forget to tell you that, before leaving, I made over the "Blessières" to Sir C. Napier, after having had him *trotted up and down* in one! They are to be tried in headquarter's camp, and must sink or swim now. Sir Charles is in great admiration of them himself, and he is no bad judge. I assisted him at an interesting interview he

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had with Shere Singh and his father. Sir Charles questioned them closely on various matters, particularly the battles of Gujerat and Chillianwallah, and the reasons for this and that movement. Not being a military man, I proposed making over the office of interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief's interpreter; but he made rather a poor show at the work, so I had to go at it again, and was complimented on my success. I am considered a good hand at understanding "these Punjabis;" their dialect is a little strange to men unaccustomed to it.

It is rather amusing to me, to have to receive regular military reports from the officers with the escort, with a salute "Any change in the guard, sir?" "Have you any fresh orders, sir?" How you would laugh at my demure face! but all the same, we have to be very wide awake during the march, as it is well known that there are designs on foot to carry off the boy. I think, however, that I shall foil them; at least, if they succeed, it won't be for want of vigilance on my part. . . . .

SEHARUNPOOR, *Jan. 20th*, 1850.

. . . . Just returned from the public gardens here, where I took the boy: he has a great love for plants and seeds of all kinds for his garden, and I like to encourage the taste. Mr. Kane has promised him a good gardener, and some waggon-loads of plants and shrubs; they are to start at once. We have also been to visit the Government stud. I am rather thinking of getting a pair of strong grey wheelers from here, for the Maharajah's carriage; but people admire it so much as it is, with the four grey Arabs, and think it perfect, that I hesitate. *I* think they are too light; but there is no question of their beauty. We look very smart when we are in our show dress at the different stations, with this smart equipage, escorted by the Governor-General's Body Guard and Skinner's "Canaries."

We are near Deobund to-day, where we lost my poor Hinghan.

I don't find this sort of life good for my pocket, though very pleasant. As, of course, the Maharajah's table is quite distinct from mine; I have to entertain constantly; we have the escort officers, of course, and many guests as we go through the stations. I have also to provide for young Barlow, and soon I shall have Tommy Scott, and a tutor; and this I shall continue to do till you arrive, when we shall take up our abode (as I told Lord Dalhousie) in a separate house from the Maharajah. I can then establish a separate table for the others, which can be kept up at the Maharajah's expense. So do come out as soon as you can. Chapter VIII. 1850.

MEERUT, *Jan. 29th*, 1850. *(On the road to Futtehghur.)*

Since we crossed the Jumna our escort has been reduced a little by the withdrawal of the Horse Artillery guns, but we still have—

A squadron of the Body Guard,
Wing of 6th Light Cavalry,
Squadron of Skinner's Horse,
Party of 18th European Infantry,
Wing of 50th Native Infantry.

So we still form rather an imposing camp. We shall pass through no other station now till we reach our destination.

Just received my English box. Am so pleased with the likenesses. The Maharajah is so charmed with the children's, and hopes you are to bring them out with you! He is much delighted with all the fine things you have sent him, and has begun his painting already. I have been purchasing some furniture here, and sending it on under Bhugwan Doss's charge; he is very anxious to make a good appearance at Futtehghur, as the first of the Maharajah's servants to arrive, so I have sent him to the Toshkhana to be rigged out smartly.

*February 13th.* I met, while at Meerut, Walter Guise, a younger brother of Dr. Guise, and he is now travelling with us.

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I want to try him as tutor for the young Maharajah for a time, to prepare him for a better, when I can hear of one. I have written to England to enquire for a suitable man. I think Guise will be able to do all that can be done for the present. Scott writes me to say that he will send Tommy as soon as we are all settled.

The Ganges Canal is not very far from our camp; it is a noble work, and I trust if all is well with us, to be able to accept Thomason's invitation and go with him to see it opened. It is the greatest of our works in India, and any one may be proud of having had a hand in it. Tom's whole heart is in the work. He now sees that he is better off than any lieutenant in the army as to pay and prospects, and thanks me for making him fit himself for the position.

The Maharajah attracts great attention and curiosity among the people at every station, and is much admired; he certainly does look handsome, and rides gracefully. I took him to see the the Artillery Review at Meerut, and he was a great attraction. On leaving the ground, a soldierly-looking Field Officer of the Royal Irish rode for some time near the carriage, seeming anxious to have a good look at the boy. So I spoke to him, saying how much the Maharajah had enjoyed the review. He asked if he had the pleasure of speaking to Dr. Login, and then told me that he had met you at Allahabad last year, on your way home with the children. He asked after you all most kindly (as Col. Grattan he introduced himself). Sir Joseph and Lady Thackwell also asked after you.

CAMP, *Feb. 15th*, 1850.

I expect, if all goes well with us, to reach Futtehghur in two or three days, and I shall be able to describe to you your future home. Your last letters were truly delightful and cheering as to your health. I shall be so miserably disappointed if Ranald Martin forbids your returning to me in October. I do so need you to assist me. I am anxious to give this young Maharajah

(and Shahzadah) a favourable impression of us as Christians, in our domestic state, and to make him acquire respect for the character of an English lady. His opinion of them may afterwards have weight amongst his countrymen, and dispose them to think better of our ladies than they do. Unless you are with me it will be impossible for me to give him any idea of what we are in our families; and we have so few opportunities such as I may now have, that I should be exceedingly sorry to lose it. There is much in our social habits which, to say the least, must appear equivocal to any native, and which requires a knowledge of us in our domestic circle, to understand. Just think what their ideas of ladies dancing the polka and drinking healths must be, if they had no opportunity of knowing them better and acquiring respect for them! So you see, dearest, you have a mission to perform—to establish the character of your countrywomen, and to acquire respect for them, of which they have little yet, I am afraid. Mrs. George Lawrence has certainly done much in this way—it was quite pleasing to hear her spoken of by the Sikh chiefs, but *you* may have much more in your power. Chapter VIII. 1850.

I suppose I must have told you all about the young Shahzadah, Duleep's nephew, who was placed under my charge at the last moment by the Governor-General, in addition. He would probably be looked upon as next in succession, being the only son of Shere Singh, the last Maharajah. Sheo Deo's mother has elected to accompany her son, and is now in our camp. She is the youngest wife of Shere Singh, selected from among the Rajpootnees of the hill country after he came to the throne, so you may judge if she is not likely to be handsome. I cannot describe her to you, as I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing her!

FUTTEHGHUR, *Feb.* 21*st.*

I am much pleased with the *situation* of the house selected. It must have been a very delectable residence in Mr. Shore's

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time (Lord Teignmouth's son), though the grounds are not large enough for the Maharajah; but I shall remedy that by buying up the neighbouring bungalows and their compounds, and, throwing them all into one, make it like a small park, extending along the banks of the Ganges. The drawing-room window is within fifty yards of the fine broad stream, with a sloping bank down to it. I have not seen in India more undulating grounds or more capable of being made picturesque—walks in all directions, and some fine shady trees, and I shall set about making a beautiful garden; but it looks forlorn and neglected, having been so long empty. I must do my best to get it soon to look bright and cheerful. I am afraid, however, that we shall have to live among bricks and mortar for a long time, until I can get it to look what I wish it to be, and what I shall not feel is unsuited for the Maharajah, who has lost his own splendid home through no fault of his own.

The residents here are Allen (Judge), Smith Gunninghame (Collector), you remember him at Lucknow; Raikes (Deputy-Collector); Col. Alexander (Gun-Carriage Agency); Tucker (Clothing Department); Padre Carshore, Doctor Gerrard, Halkett Craigie, Doran, John Bean—all of these are married except the last two.

FUTTEHGHUR, *March 6th*, 1850.

I was disappointed at having to leave Lahore before Dr. Duff's arrival, after having had so much to do these last few years in urging him to take up the Punjab. He was much pleased at my sending him my subscription, as it showed him I was in earnest.

. . . . A number of the Punjabi servants are to return to their homes soon, and I am trying hard to fill their places with respectable, steady men. I am getting over some few of our old people from Lucknow who can be depended on, but I have refused a great many who might not be exactly the sort to be placed near the young boy. Bhugwan Doss I have got, also

Gulzar Syed (our Gharib-khana boy), Davee (Sirdar-bearer), and his brother Nidhan, and good Khalipha Ali Bux is coming from the Gharib-khana, to be placed in responsible change, and then I can feel I have a man I can trust. Chapter VIII. 1850.

Hotspur, the chestnut Arab, carries me well, and deserves to be named after your favourite. I am out a great deal in the sun, looking after the works, but as I have got into the frontier fashion of wearing a large muslin *puggarree* round my helmet *topee*, I scarcely feel its power. Do you remember Hollings's coachman? You used to wonder how he kept his turban *on*, he wore it so on the slant and looked so rakish. Well, I have made him coachman of the two mule teams of four-in-hand. They are splendid jet-black creatures, very large and handsome. The fellow breaks them in splendidly, and they go like the wind! I wish I could make a sketch of them for you, with Hassan Beg *standing* up on the box, holding the reins, and *laying on* with his long whip, his turban clapped on *one ear*—looking like a very fiend with his long beard flying! I have told him that you will never bear the sight of him unless he wears his turban straight, and it amuses the two little fellows, Duleep and Sheo Deo, to watch his efforts to get it to remain straight. I think his head must be a queer shape, for though he starts with it quite straight, he always comes back with it in the old position!

The two lads are very happy together. They had scarcely ever seen each other before, and were rather awkward at first, the nephew standing in awe of the uncle. They are looking forward to the arrival of Tommy Scott, who is expected with his mother soon.

I shall be glad when you join me, for I cannot expect to have more than two or three years in which we can influence the young Maharajah's mind favourably towards our domestic life, and I must not lose them on any account. He will have an opportunity of seeing how we live in our homes, and he will be one of us, and will look upon you as a mother, and respect and

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esteem you. Is it not worth running *some* risk to health, by coming back so soon, when it is to occupy a position of so much usefulness, towards one who may yet influence so many thousands of people? You can have no idea of the interest shown in him by the natives everywhere. Then there is the little Shahzadah, and the Ranee, his mother, for you to interest yourself in, and occupy your time and thoughts. So come away as soon as you feel able, and help me, for I need you sorely. You may turn all your excellent qualities to good account here. Thomason wrote me the other day, saying that *you* would now be more than ever a *helpmeet* for me. I was so pleased with the Maharajah on the occasion of the grand day of the Hoolie Festival. He showed such self-denial and self-restraint in not exhibiting any desire to participate in the undignified and, indeed, objectionable frolics of the people, that I arranged something more harmless for him in the evening, to his great enjoyment and delight. The large centre rooms are splendid places for hide-and-seek, blind-man's buff, &c. All these games are new to him and the Shahzadah. Imagine the scene! The ruler of the Sikhs, the young Shahzadah, Sirdar Boor Singh Butaliwallah, Dewan Ajoodea Pershad, Fakeer Zehoorudin, Mr. Guise, Mr. Barlow, and myself, all engaged in the game. The Maharajah's shouts of glee ringing all over the place as each was caught in turn. I was glad indeed that you sent him that book of games, "The Boy's Own Book." It is seldom out of his hand, and it has added to his eagerness to learn English. I am prepared to find it the book of all others he prefers to study!

FUTTEHGHUR, *April 21st*, 1850.

The Governor-General passes through the boundary end of my postal division in a few days, and I have sent a tent out to Kanoge to be ready for me on the 24th, as I wish particularly to see him, to ask leave to go to Calcutta to meet you. He *may*

refuse, as he is so anxious I should always be on the spot with the Maharajah, in case of any plot; but I hope I may be able to persuade him that it will be safe. Allen, the Commissioner, has promised to look after him carefully in my absence. I wish I could give the little fellow a taste for learning—in fact, for study of *any* sort; but you see he has not been trained to do anything of that kind, and it is so difficult to get him to apply his mind for even five minutes at a time. Poor Guise has a lively time of it, and needs great patience—a virtue he certainly possesses in a high degree—and for this reason he is invaluable as a first tutor, to coax the boy over the drudgery a little. No man of high attainments could be expected to begin at the beginning; and such a small beginning too! Chapter VIII. 1850.

*May 14th.*

I think I told you that I resisted the blandishments of the young officers here, and refused to transform the party I had issued invitations for, at the Maharajah's house, into a *ball* as they wished. I told both Doran and Bean that I would not have *dancing*, but that the arrangements should be as elastic and pleasant as could be managed. D. turned sulky, and would not come, and silly Mrs. —— took the same course; but her husband had more sense, and approved of my reasons. I did my very best to make the Maharajah's first party a success; but I did wish you were here to help me. It went off well, and everybody declared it far exceeded their expectations—and they had been high—for the station was in great excitement about it! The fireworks were splendid; *one* feature of them was much admired. I called the Ganges to my aid, and had the Maharajah's little yacht rigged out with bamboos to represent a ship, yards, mast-heads, and ropes all illuminated. She moved up and down the river gracefully, and had such a pretty effect that it delighted everybody. I took some wrinkles from our old

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Lucknow illuminations, which were so effective on the Goomtee. I had all the European children of the station—ten in number—present, as well as all the grown-ups. I gave this first party to celebrate the birthday of the Shahzadah, May 14th, he is fourteen days younger than Edwy. The Maharajah was grievously disappointed at not getting a letter from you; he is quite eager to keep up a correspondence with you.

FUTTEHGHUR, *May 16th*, 1850.

Since last writing I have seen the Governor-General, who was most friendly, and expressed himself highly satisfied with all I had done. He opened his mind very freely, particularly about the late transactions in Oude, and the difficulties in which they had placed him. He seems much annoyed at what has occurred, and which certainly appears to have been brought on most inconsiderately. Both Sleeman and Bird stand very low in his books at present, and I should not be surprised to hear of some changes there. I am very grieved about it all myself.

All that has been done in the Punjab has delighted him greatly during this first year. Again and again he expressed his pleasure with it, and John Lawrence stands prime favourite. He is not so fond of dear old Henry, as we all know; but he could not help acknowledging his admiration of his character. I have spoken strongly about getting a good tutor looked out for in England, for the boy; but I see that he thinks it would not be prudent to get Dr. Duff to recommend one, as it might be misrepresented, and people might think it was with the intention of making the lad a Christian, so I must do it through another channel. I am sorry Robert Adams must go home for his health. He has been ill, but I think that now he has shown what he is worth, there will be no difficulty in his getting a good berth when he comes back, though I am sorry he has to throw up the Guides. Lawrence tells me that Lumsden thinks highly of him, and

regrets losing him; so we need not repent bringing him into notice. I see that the newspapers are full of expectation of getting the Lahore State property as prize money, and they propose the Queen's *native* subjects should purchase the Koh-i-noor, and present it to Her. My idea in another form! But I don't like it so well as mine. They do not go as far as I do, for they do not propose to lay out the money in the improvement of the country from whence the Koh-i-noor came. However, Lord Dalhousie does not like the idea, and would not thank me for originating it. He told me that Her Majesty was most anxious to see the jewels, and that it was all stuff about Her refusal to accept them.

If you see Dr. Duff in Edinburgh, you can explain to him that Lord Dalhousie is afraid if he were asked to recommend a tutor that it might imply an interference with the boy's religious faith; I trust, however, that God helping us, we shall be enabled, as "written epistles," to manifest the spirituality and benevolence of a Christian life, if we cannot otherwise preach to him. He is a strange little fellow, and shows an intelligence at times beyond his years. Observing that Guise, Barlow, Tommy Scott, and I have morning and evening prayer together, he asked me to order his *porohut* (priest) to come to him also at a fixed hour daily to read in his holy book (the Grunt'h). This I think indicates a devotional feeling, that may hereafter be directed aright; indeed, he shows a strong desire to walk according to the light which God has given him, and a wish to know His will.

FUTTEHGHUR, *May 19th*, 1850.

With regard to expenses, I told you it is not good for my pocket to live as I do; but having such complete control over the Maharajah's establishment and expenditure, my first study appears to me, to be most scrupulous on the subject of my personal expenses, and to set a good example to others. I there-

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fore keep my own establishment quite separate from the Maharajah's, and intend to continue to do so. At present my personal staff of servants cost me fifty rupees per mensem, and I have my own separate table and bedroom furniture, bedroom candles, &c. I bought Henry Lawrence's horse, and this I also keep myself, as well as the chesnut Arab (cost 2,000 rupees) which the boy sent me on my birthday, and which, for the sake of appearances and courtesy, I could not return; yet I pay for his keep and *syce* myself.

The truth is, I am in a position that I must and will show, that I am above personal paltry considerations in my anxiety to do justice to my charge. So long as I am most careful not to expend money of *his* on my own personal comforts, or those of my family, I feel very independent indeed, and can carry matters with a high hand. I trust I shall be able to show the Maharajah and his people, in after years, that they have been no losers by falling into the hands of a Christian gentleman, and that I have done no discredit to the name.

I have it is true, all the pleasure which I could desire, from the expenditure of the Maharajah's money, quite as much as if it were my own. So much has been left to my discretion in the way of applying it. After putting his house and grounds in order, I intend to get up a school for the children all round Futtehghur, in which he can take an interest, and also find other ways to give him a taste for benefiting the poor, and making the people round him happy.* I think it is only by acting in this way, and avoiding all thought of self, that I can prove myself at all worthy of the confidence placed in me.

I always forgot to tell you that I sold your Arab, Sultan (or

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* Within the last three months we have started a day-school for girls of respectable caste, as an experiment. The Rev. Gopee Nath Nundy's zealous and exemplary wife and daughter superintend it (vernacular and industrial). I look for great results eventually.

rather John Lawrence did for me), to Brigadier Wheeler for his daughter for 800 rupees. He was a lovely creature, but was too light for my weight. Chapter VIII. 1850.

FUTTEHGHUR.

You will probably meet Herbert Edwardes at Clifton, and renew your acquaintance with him. You will find that he has turned out exactly what you would expect—viz., a clever and intelligent man, as little elevated with the honours and attention that have been shown him, as it is possible for a young man to be. He has a great leaning towards that which will enable him to bear worldly honours well, and to count them at their true value. As he becomes more confirmed in his Christian course, he will lose all the little natural haughtiness of manner which some people attribute to him; I am certain it is only natural to him, and not put on. I only wish we had many "Herbert Edwardeses" in India!

Mrs. Scott brought her son Tom herself, and we are all greatly pleased with the lad. I think he will be of great use as a companion for the Maharajah.

Duleep Singh was greatly delighted to receive the subjoined from Sir Henry Lawrence, who with his native kindliness of heart, although immersed in work, took the trouble himself to write it carefully in large text-hand, on lines, in the hope that the boy would be able to read it without assistance.

LAHORE, *Feb. 28th*, 1850.

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

I am glad to hear that you are *Khoosh*. I hope you like your house and grounds, and that "Gunga Jee" is as near as I

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told you. I very often think of you; I hope you read and write every day. Wishing you health and all happiness,

Believe me, your sincere friend,

HENRY LAWRENCE.

This was the first of several from Sir Henry; Mr. John Lawrence also wrote him several times, evincing a warm interest in him.

In another letter from Futtehghur, July 16th, 1850, Login says :—

. . . . The Maharajah was so pleased to get Edwy's * letter in reply to his; he had been quite impatient for its arrival. I forgot to tell you that I was told by the Governor-General that the hint I had thrown out last year, when at Lahore, of the Maharajah sending a present to the Prince of Wales, might now be acted upon. So I shall pick out something suitable from amongst his boyish arms and armour, though I could have had a better choice *then*. (You will remember that I made the suggestion about the silver summer-house at the same time!) I have been making inquiries about a wife for my little boy. He says I am his "Ma-Bap," and he trusts to me to do what may be necessary for his happiness. He will have nothing to do, he says, with Shere Singh's sister, to whom he was betrothed, so I am left quite at liberty to choose for him. I have heard of a little daughter of the Rajah of Coorg, at Benares. She is being educated like an English child, and her father has asked, and obtained permission, to take her to England to have her education completed. She is only eight years of age, described as fair and good-looking, and also intelligent, with decided marks of good blood and lineage about her. The father is not yet aware of my inquiries. My informant is Major Stewart, the Governor-General's

* Login's eldest boy.

Agent at Benares, who says that altogether he does not think my young *protégé* could anywhere get a more suitable wife! When I have heard from Macgregor and others who know her, I shall send on my information to Lord Dalhousie privately. Possibly matters may be so far arranged by the time you come out, that you may see her as the Maharajah's *fiancée* as you pass through Benares. There will be four years between their ages nearly. I have an idea, however, that young Duleep would prefer some one *nearer* his own age, and I may have some difficulty in the matter. I am glad to tell you that I have been fortunate enough to engage a good English manservant for the Maharajah, to take charge of the stables and the camp-equipage; he is to drive the Maharajah's four-in-hand. Thornton is a particularly nice-looking, respectable man. He came out to India as servant to an officer in one of our cavalry regiments, and does not wish to go back with him. His master speaks highly of him, says he has had charge of his small racing stud, and is an *honest man*. He thoroughly understands horses, and I trust he will do credit to the Maharajah's establishment. He came over from Cawnpore to see me, and I have engaged him on 150 rupees per mensem; good wages, no doubt; but if he is all they say he is, he is worth it. He is married, and his wife is said to be a thoroughly respectable Englishwoman.

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I have just been looking at my account at the Cawnpore Bank, and find it rather low. I have had rather unusual expenses since you left—I mean more than I calculated on. Besides paying my necessary subscriptions to the Funds (Bengal Military and Orphan), which, as you know, are specially heavy in my case, I have had to pay, for instance,—

| | RUPEES. |
|---|---|
| Dr. Duff's Mission to Punjab ... ... ... | ... 500 |
| Brian Hodgson's children (left destitute)... ... | ... 250 |
| Poor Fagan (when cashiered) ... ... ... | ... 250 |
| Dr. Atkinson (to save him from dismissal) ... | ... 500 |
| Lahore Mission ... ... ... ... ... | ... 100 |
| Church at Lahore ... ... ... ... ... | ... 150 |

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Of course, this is besides our various subscriptions as usual, such as—

The Lawrence Asylum,
The Free Church Mission,
The C. M. Society.

I do not grudge this; nor will you, I know. I only tell you, that you may know all we have to count on. I think it is incumbent on us to show that we are no seekers after gain; that it is for our national honour, as well as our Christian name, that the little Maharajah and his numerous dependents should have rather a high standard of honesty and uprightness placed before them, from which to form their ideas of the character of their Christian rulers; and that it therefore becomes the more necessary that we should exert the utmost vigilance, to avoid the smallest imputation of avariciousness from being attached to us. For my own part, I would rather prefer that, at the coming of age of the little boy, I should make over all his fortune to him, with the consciousness that I had fulfilled my stewardship, and was myself a poorer man than when I received the charge, than that I should have, in the very least degree, advanced my own fortune at his expense.

But why proceed with this digression?

I have had a letter from poor A., to whom, you may recollect, I advanced 300 rupees some time ago. He is in sad distress. He accepted a bill for 1,000 rupees to save his poor brother from jail, and now is unable to meet it, and asks me, with the fear of Sir Charles Napier and a court-martial before his eyes, to lend him 500 rupees. I must help him, though I shall be in difficulties by it for a time; but, for my dear friend Paton's sake, I shall do what I can. A. is a strange fellow, rather foolish, but I believe of good principles, and kind-hearted. I feel sorry indeed that I cannot engage the tutor, so highly recommended by Dr. Duff. . . . . I comfort myself for the loss, by the knowledge that my charge is not yet quite ready for a highly-qualified tutor, and one who could only speak English

to him. He manages to read a *little* English fairly well, and understands it, but is afraid to begin to speak it; but I trust he will soon get over that. He is really intelligent, and can learn his lessons fast enough when he likes, but he has no power of application. The wonder is that we get him to do as much as he does, considering his former position, and the absence of any restraint. I am really fond of him, and we get on famously; but I need to be very firm with him. The other day he became rather rebellious, and I had my first difficulty with him. He had run out during heavy rain into the garden, and got thoroughly drenched. I wished him to change his clothes, but he first, *in play*, said he would do so at the regular hour for dressing; and when I urged him to change at once, he got stubborn: so it became in a small way a trial of will. Who is to yield? Chapter VIII. 1850.

I gave him half an hour to go to his own room and do it of himself without being obliged; but he still held out. So I told him I very much regretted that he forced me to employ coercion, but that I must be obeyed, and I advised him as a friend not to make it necessary that I should expose him to it. Poor little fellow! I was so sorry for him! In a few minutes he came himself to my room and sobbed at a great rate, and appealed to the *Treaty!* that he was to be allowed to do as he liked! I told him I did not think that was one of the conditions; that I was placed over him, and that at present I was his "Ma-Bap," and knew what was best for him. I think that had you seen us, you would have been satisfied that I could come the "*suaviter in modo*" as well as "*fortiter in re.*" I conquered—and from the way I did so, I saved his pride, and prevented any annoyance being felt by him as regards exposure before his people, and now we are even greater friends than before. Walter Guise is a very good fellow, rather slow perhaps, and not altogether the man who would suit later on; but he is very amiable, patient, and attentive, of mild manners, and gentlemanly appearance and demeanour, and has, I think, been more useful in winning the boy round to apply him-

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self to study than a more accomplished tutor would have been. I should like to find him employment hereafter in charge of the Maharajah's *zemindaree*, when he gets one. I am sure he is a most trustworthy man. The English manservant, Thornton, will, I think, prove a valuable acquisition.

I see by the papers that the Koh-i-noor has arrived in England, and that *Mackeson*, not Ramsay, gets all the credit of having brought it safely. This will not be exactly as Lord Dalhousie wished, as he was rather anxious on that score; but no doubt the Court of Directors had their own ideas about it. I was one of the *very few* entrusted with the secret of its disposal. Indeed, they could not have got access to it without my knowledge, seeing that it never left my possession from the day I received it in charge! I may tell you now that it is safe, that Lord Dalhousie came to my quarters before he left Lahore, bringing with him a small bag, made by Lady Dalhousie to hold it; and after I had formally made it over to him, he went into my room and fastened it round his waist, under his clothes, in my presence. Lord Dalhousie himself wrote out the formal receipt for the jewel, and there my responsibility ended, and I felt it a great load taken off me! All the members of the Board of Administration were present, and countersigned the document. The other jewels were also sealed up and made over.

Thus Runjeet Singh's famous Toshkhana of jewels is a thing of the past!

CAWNPORE, *July 27th*, 1850.

I am here on my way back to Futtehghur, after a flying visit to Lucknow, and hope to get back to-morrow.

*July 28th.*—Here I am, finishing my letter in the *dâk* bungalow. I came out from Cawnpore by water, in a pretty pleasure-boat I am going to buy for the Maharajah's use. I could not help being reminded of our little trips in the pinnace in '48 when

you were so ill. I left the boat at the Magazine Ghât, and came on in one of Thuntee Mull's carriages, for which horses had been laid for two stages; there I found my own palanquin with a double set of bearers, ready to take me on here, forty-five miles, and well they did it I think in twelve hours! I shall start this evening, when it is cool, for Futtehghur, and in the meantime try to give you a full account of my visit to old Lucknow, while it is all fresh in my memory. When I reached the Ghât, to cross the river, I met Mr. Brandon, who accompanied me, giving me an account of all that has been done since I left. All as bad as can be, between the Palace and the Residency, and, by all accounts, not much to our credit. On getting near the Char-Bagh and passing through the city, I recognized all the old places we knew so well, and not a few familiar faces. They all recognized me, and by the time I reached the Residency I had quite a tail! There the whole Post-office establishment turned out, and after hearty greetings and salaams, I drove on towards the cantonments, where I was bound, to visit Lamb, taking a good look at our dear old home in the Residency as I passed. Your dressing-room windows seen from the Bailey Guard gate, the portico, the drawing-room, all that was visible from the road. Moonshee Purshad Naraim was not at the Post-office, but hearing of my visit, he lost sight of his dignity and tore after me a couple of miles along the cantonment road! The tigers on each side of Mohsumoodowlah's gates were a familiar sight, but I cared little for anything till I caught sight of our old home (in cantonments)—the place not so well kept as it was.

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Next day I went over all the rooms—drawing-room, your little green dressing-room and bedroom. I had your face before me as you lay so calmly and resignedly awaiting God's will, and there seemed so little earthly hope!

The little arbour outside, the dovecot, everything I looked upon "forbade me to forget." After visiting one or two of our old haunts, I started with Lamb for the city; could not see much of

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our house, as Mrs. Bell is laid up. Sadoo, the old carpenter, the blacksmith, and many others patiently waiting to see me; indeed I was soon surrounded by old servants, all asking for you and Edwy Baba. Padre Hamilton was out, but I saw Mrs. H. The Derogah, Ahmed Ali, and Azimoollah's son were waiting for me. I told you, I think, that when at Lahore, I had a letter from Lucknow, telling me of my old friend Azimoollah's death; he had written me only a few days before, asking my advice whether he should accept an appointment offered him by the King. I advised him "No," that he had plenty already of this world's goods, and should now take rest and time to think of and prepare for the fate that must befall all men; that I wished him to compare what is written in his own holy books with what our Bible says (I had given him one), and ask God to give him *light* to understand and do His will. His son tells me that he declined the King's offer on getting my letter, and that he died very suddenly soon after, good, kind old man! To resume. In the afternoon Nawab Mohsunoodowlah's carriage came to fetch me, as I had promised to go to his garden house (half way to the city). Here I found quite a posse of royalties and nobles waiting to meet me, with my host—Monowroodowlah, Momtazoodowlah, the Prime Minister, and others with too long names to write, all evidently very much pleased to see me again! Next morning, Nawab Ameenoodowlah's carriage came for me to come to his Palace. On the way, just opposite the large tree at *our* gate (in cantonments), I found a crowd of people (native friends) all waiting for a *moolaquat;* among others Nanuck Chind, the banker, and Ram Churn. I had to halt for a while, and afterwards *all* followed me in a long procession through the city, much to my discomfort! but there was no getting out of it without hurting their feelings. Arrived at the Minister's, he met me, and was most kind and civil. The Begum and *our* daughter making all sorts of inquiries after you and your boy; the Minister over and over repeating, that he owed his life to me, and (what he seemed *most* grateful for) the power of using his rifle arm again in *shikar*. He had a

splendid breakfast prepared for me, and we (for Lamb was with me) did ample justice to it after our long drive. The carriage was placed at my disposal for the day—*not* the famous white horses with the red tails!—and I found, waiting beside it, Mr. Hyde, my old assistant, and Syed Enayet Hossein, my sub-assistant surgeon, anxious to give me their welcome. Chapter VIII. 1850.

I drove out to Constantia (La Martinière), and went all over it with Mr. Crank and Mr. Archer. I recognized in the classrooms many of our old friends among the boys, whom we used to have for a holiday. Drove to Beebeepore Palace, where we spent our honeymoon, Dil Khooshar Palace, and then back to the city to call on the Begum Malika Geytee, the old King's favourite wife. I found her *tonjon* and bearers ready waiting at the old spot, as in old times, to pick me up as I passed. The good Begum said she had not been able to sleep, nor her two boys to eat, since they heard of my arrival at Lucknow. They were very kind indeed, and I had to sit a long time telling them all about you and the Sahibzadah, as they call Edwy.

Shereefoodowlah, Ahmed Ali, and Shah Beharee Lal, the banker, came to call on me in cantonments before I left. Ahmed Ali told me, with great satisfaction, that at last the ditch has been allowed to be cut through the Residency kitchen-garden, by Colonel Sleeman, as I had proposed and designed when at Lucknow, and which Colonel Richmond and Bird had refused to sanction. He says that, in consequence, houses are springing up all along the new road, which is now a grand feature in the city. I think I have now told you of all my rambles through Lucknow; it was very pleasant and satisfactory, though I heard a good deal, not only from the natives, but from Sleeman, the Resident, which saddened me, and makes me fear for the future of the little kingdom. I fear *some* of our people have not upheld the honour of our nation in the eyes of the natives. By the way, both Nawabs Mohsumoodowlah and Monowroodowlah, have promised to pay me a visit at Futtehghur after your return.

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. . . . Did I say that I had dined at the Residency, the first evening, with the Sleemans, who were exceedingly kind? . . . .

FUTTEHGHUR, *July 29th*, 1850.

On reaching home last night, I found all well except poor Khalipha, who is in a very doubtful state indeed, and I almost fear he will not pull through. He has been suffering for some time from a carbuncle on the back, similar to that of which the King of Oude died. There seemed every prospect of its going on well when I left for Lucknow, but it suddenly increased, and although the doctor has done all that was possible, I fear his strength may not hold out to carry him through, poor man! Need I say to you that it will be a great grief to me to lose my faithful old friend? However, I am not going to despair, but take the case into my own hands, and do all that can be done, seeking God's blessing.

I am so sorry that I did not receive, while at Lucknow, a letter which the little Maharajah himself wrote me during my absence, and which has followed me back. I should have liked to show it to the King's sons (Malika Geytee's boys), who have not kept up their English since I left.

Dr. Login now urged Lord Dalhousie to provide the Maharajah with further educational advantages. He said, that though Mr. Walter Guise had up to that time been of more use than a more experienced teacher ignorant of the vernacular would have been, yet that now the Maharajah's knowledge of English was sufficient for him to derive benefit from a well-qualified tutor, who would know how to interest the boy, and lead him on to the study of natural science. He asked

also for instructions about the Maharajah's betrothal, concerning which there was some little anxiety among the native gentlemen of his suite.

In reply he received an official letter (dated April 13th, 1850), from which an extract is here given:—

The Governor-General in Council conceives that it is the duty of the British Government to do all that is within its power to train up the boy in such a manner as that when *the date of his majority arrives he may take possession of the heritage which has been secured to him**—a well-principled and accomplished gentleman, versed in the knowledge which usually is sought by the higher ranks in the East, and instructed also in the English language and literature. The same principles which are observed in the education furnished by Government to the natives of India generally, should, His Lordship in Council thinks, guide the Government in the training of the young Maharajah, both as regards the culture of his understanding and the guidance of his moral character.

These objects, it appears to His Lordship in Council, may be secured by the agency of gentlemen in India, without having recourse to the expedient suggested by you; and he therefore declines to authorize your applying to Dr. Duff, or sending to England at all, for a tutor for the Maharajah.

Mr. Guise, who is at present affording instruction to His Highness, is described by you, His Lordship in Council observes, to be well-qualified in many respects, but wanting in experience as a teacher. If, on further observation of him, you should still think that a gentleman of higher attainments is desirable, His Lordship in Council requests that you will address the Government again

* The italics are not in the original.

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upon the subject. His Lordship in Council sanctions the salary, 250 rupees per mensum, which you have proposed for Mr. Guise.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

FRED. JAS. HALLIDAY,

*Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.*

At the same time Lord Dalhousie writes :—

My official letter, lately despatched to you, would apprise you that I think your plans for the Maharajah are all on too large a scale, and that you seem to have contemplated for him a future much more royal than is intended. Another letter will have informed you that the Court decidedly object to his coming to England, and, as they desire that his wish to do so may be discouraged, we must hold their instructions in view. Such of His Highness's views as have been influenced by the prospect of visiting Europe, will therefore, in all probability, undergo a change. His education will proceed as far as His Highness will consent to carry it, and a tutor sufficiently qualified should be found; but if Mr. Guise commands his respect and affection, as you say, it is very much to be desired that he should continue in his present position; and I apprehend that if his acquirements are at present insufficient, he would find no difficulty in qualifying himself as a teacher fully capable of instructing the Maharajah, during his boyhood. The marriage of the Maharajah is a more difficult matter for us to arrange. I should object decidedly, and do not wish to countenance any relations henceforth between the Maharajah and the Sikhs, either by alliance with a Sikh family, or sympathy with Sikh feeling. The Maharajah having personally desired to break off his betrothal with Chuttur Singh's daughter, appears to have opinions of his own as to marriage.

If he chooses to marry one of the Rajah of Coorg's daughters, after having had everything about her explained to him, I can't see why he should not. There are two. One that His Highness wants to send to England, another about seven or eight, for whom he does not propose English education; both are good-looking, the second one very pretty, and, as far as birth is concerned, both are his equals and more.

The first part of this letter refers to Col. Goodwyn's (of the Engineers) plans for improvements necessary to His Highness's residence at Futtehghur, which Lord Dalhousie considered as on too *regal* a scale; and also to the great anxiety expressed by the Maharajah to visit England.

When making arrangements for the departure from Lahore, Login, in order to secure that the personal attendants should be men of tried fidelity, suggested to the Maharajah that he should himself select them, and prove their attachment by explaining that he was leaving the Punjab for India, and that only those who cared to accompany him should go. The little fellow rather entered into the spirit of this sifting process, and amused himself at the expense of some of his people. In a memorandum on this subject Login writes :—

The effect of this, as I had foreseen, was to detach a great many Sikhs from attendance on him. His retinue consisted principally of Mahomedans; and even the Sikh priests and many of the Brahmins, whose duty it was to remain near him

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under all circumstances, declined to accompany him, although facilities were offered them for doing so, and accommodation provided for them in camp. Accordingly, His Highness left Lahore for Hindostan without taking with him a copy of the Grunt'h (their holy book) or a single reader of it, and with only one Brahmin *porohut*, or family priest, who, before leaving, arranged that his tour of duty should not exceed six months, when he was to be relieved by one of his brethren. As I was particularly careful to explain to the Sikh priests (whose allowances were all secured to them by Jageers), that one of the copies of the Grunt'h in use at the Palace was at their disposal, and that ample accommodation would be provided for them in camp in the event of their accompanying the Maharajah, but that I, being of a different religion from them, would give them *no orders* on the subject, no blame could be attached to us for their indifference to the Maharajah's instruction in the tenets of their faith.

Soon after the Maharajah's arrival at Futtehghur, his old servant Meah Kheema, a Mahomedan who had been with him ever since his birth, and was much attached to him (the same who advised him to sign the Treaty with a good grace), claimed his promise to let him return to his family and country; it became necessary, therefore, that I should appoint a trustworthy successor. Bhajun Lal, a young Brahmin of Furruckabad, was recommended, as being of excellent moral character, and having received a good education at one of the schools of the American Mission at Furruckabad. He could read and speak English fairly, which was a great recommendation to the young Maharajah, who was anxious to learn the language. He was therefore installed as confidential personal attendant on the boy, who became much attached to him.

When I appointed him to the duty, although he had high recommendations as to his moral character and steadiness, I was unaware of the depth of his convictions on religious subjects, and as he continued to adhere to the ceremonial observances of a

Brahmin, in all that related to his food and clothing, he was received by all the other Hindoos as perfectly orthodox.



It was a strangely constituted household, or rather series of households, which Mrs. Login, on her return from Europe, found living within the confines of "Futtehghur Park"—the name given to the Maharajah's small estate.

The property originally consisted of several bungalows and residences, belonging to various owners, each surrounded by its own compound. The Maharajah, the Ranee Duknoo, Dr. Login, and the native gentlemen in attendance, all occupied separate houses, and the mixture of European and Oriental arrangements was often curious.

The drawing-room reception of an evening, was an amusing sight to a lady fresh from England. During the day the young Prince was supposed to be at his studies or taking his outdoor exercise; therefore, the gentlemen of his suite were free to follow their own devices; but in the evening the Dewan, Fakeer, Sirdar, &c., made their appearance in full dress to pay their respects to their little King, and hold themselves at his disposal for a few hours.

Duleep Singh was then to be seen, seated in State on a couch or chair, with his attendants grouped around him. Each of his suite, as he entered, made low obeisance, then stood erect with folded hands, while he gave vent to the single word "Maharaj!" with the

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suddenness of a pistol-shot. This was invariably the salutation given on arrival and departure, the Maharajah receiving it—according to native ideas of proper kingly dignity—with scarcely any sign of acknowledgment. His manner, however, soon took a more gracious tone, after a little intercourse with Europeans.

Of course, the arrival of an English lady upon the scene, was an event to these worthy gentlemen, and she became an object of great interest to them. They were so courteous, and anxious to hear all she could tell them, and so ready to give her information in return, that many agreeable evenings were spent in their society. Often a round game was got up by the Maharajah and his young companions, and the Sikh chiefs were dragged into it willy-nilly; but they were so good-humoured, that if they did not actually enjoy the Maharajah's teazing, they effectually disguised their feelings, and entered into the fun like children.

They used often to express their admiration at the consideration shown to the Sikh prejudices by Login, who never allowed *beef* to be used in his own household. This delicacy of feeling on his part, they fully appreciated, and spoke of the hold it gave him on the affections of the Sikhs in attendance. The Dewan, in particular, often alluded to the relief they experienced, from the confidence that, within his gates, they were safe from any outrage to their feelings of religious veneration for the sacred animal.

Mrs. Login's colloquial knowledge of the language gave her great advantage, and was a source of much pleasure, as well as influence. She was able to explain to the mother of the Shahzadah all the advantages that education would give her boy, and to convince her that a system of pampering and indulgence would be fatal to mind and body. It was a constant cause of amazement to the Ranee, that a mother should be able to do as Mrs. Login had done—part from her son for years, for his own good, and leave him among strangers at school. Chapter VIII. 1850.

Ranee Duknoo was of an old Rajpoot family from the Kangra Hills. She had been selected for her beauty by Shere Singh—Runjeet's adopted son—on his coming to the throne, and little Sheo Deo was only a few months old when his father was murdered, and Duleep Singh, the acknowledged son of the "Great Maharajah," was elected by the Khâlsa in his room.

It is not therefore surprising that the Ranee looked upon her boy as a veritable *prince*, "born in the purple," and was never so happy as when encouraged to talk about him.

Mrs. Login was a frequent visitor at the pretty house within the park, where the Ranee resided with her faithful uncle and brother, who had shared her fortunes, and accompanied her into what, to them, was exile.

The Ranee herself was indeed a lovely young woman; tall and slender, graceful and very fair, with a pecu-

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liarly gentle and winning expression of countenance. Clothed, as befitted a widow, in subdued colours, without ornament or jewel, the soft white muslin *doputta* draped about her head, its transparent folds shrouding the lower part of the beautiful face, while her large beseeching eyes wore a look of appeal and innocence, she might have passed for a living representation of the traditional conception of the Madonna, so often to be seen depicted by the old Italian masters.

The little Shahzadah, at this time, slept at his mother's house and took his meals there, but during the day was with the Maharajah in study and at play. He was a charming little fellow, with very pretty manners and great personal beauty, inheriting the delicate, refined features and aristocratic bearing of the Rajpoots, rather than the coarser beauty of the Sikhs.

It was very amusing to see him making his daily short progress from his mother's house to the Maharajah's; to note, on the one hand, the dignified bearing of the little Prince, stepping daintily along in his beautiful and picturesque national costume, his snowy turban fringed with gold (a becoming spot of colour being given by the crimson under-turban, which confines the knot of long hair peculiar to the Sikhs), and on the other, the reverential demeanour of the *uncle* and *granduncle in attendance*, walking respectfully one step in the rear, answering dutifully the remarks which the child vouchsafed to them over his shoulder, and always careful to address him as "Shah-

zadah-jee," while the little man accepted, as his due, the admiration he excited. Chapter VIII. 1850.

He was always ready to escort Mrs. Login on her visits to his mother, and made use of her to corroborate the wonderful stories with which he entertained the Ranee, regarding all the strange things he saw at the English lady's house, and which she had brought with her from England. Some of these latter he would insist on carrying over for his mother's inspection.

It was a pleasure to try and cheer the lonely life of this young widow, for she seldom or never went out, but lived very quietly and simply with her relatives. The Maharajah paid her stated visits, and, as the head of her family, was received by her *unveiled* in the presence of her relatives—his retinue, of course, remaining outside. It was pretty well understood by the members of the Maharajah's household, that hopes were entertained by the Ranee's people that Duleep Singh might take his brother's widow to wife—this being permitted by Sikh custom. His behaviour certainly gave no colour to this rumour, for, although he acknowledged her beauty, he did not seem attracted to her, and was chary of his visits.

One of the prettiest sights at Futtehghur of an early morning, or in the cool of the evening, was the perfectly-appointed *sowarree** of the young Sikh Maharajah out for his daily ride. So often in the case of

* Cavalcade.

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even the best-arranged cavalcades of native Princes, the splendour of one attendant is spoiled by the dirty and untidy appearance of his fellow. One man is, perhaps, mounted on a splendid Arab, while the next is on a wretched *tat*; the gorgeous dresses of the leaders of the party, give place to the squalor of a rag-tag-and-bobtail following, so that the good taste which distinguished young Duleep Singh's *cortége* was all the more remarkable. He himself looked to great advantage on horseback, and though not what would be called a *daring* horseman, like many of his countrymen, yet he rode with ease and grace. When he turned out for his customary ride, accompanied by the Shahzadah and his English friends, with his retinue of war-like Sikh attendants, handsomely-dressed and well-mounted, followed by a detachment of the Governor-General's Body Guard* in their scarlet, and Skinner's Irregulars in their saffron uniforms (which gave them their cognomen of "Canaries"), the whole effect was both picturesque and brilliant. If, instead, the Maharajah went out on his elephant, with its splendid trappings and silver *howdah*, or in his carriage with its four grey Arabs, driven by his English coachman, the same finish in every detail was observable.

There were frequent reports from the Nepal Resi-

* By an order of the Governor-General in Council, a detachment of the Body Guard, consisting of "twenty-five good men and two trusty native officers," remained with His Highness at Futtehghur, "so as to lessen the duty of the Irregular Corps."

dent of secret emissaries from the Ranee Jinda, but, as the vigilance was close, her spies were generally seized and escorted back to the frontier.

It was known that the Ranee's design was to get possession of her son, though the latter showed not the least inclination to fall in with her schemes, or even to hold any communication with her, as will appear from the following extracts from an official letter of Login's:—

FUTTEHGHUR, *April 4th*, 1850.

As far as I can judge, not the least desire exists on the part of the Maharajah to communicate with his mother. From all the information I could collect at Lahore from those likely to know his feelings, he appeared to dislike any reference being made to the Ranee, and never mentioned her name, though he spoke readily of his uncle Jowahir Singh, and his affection for him; but as I was anxious to ascertain his sentiments on this point myself, for my own guidance, I took a favourable opportunity to ask him regarding it. He told me he had heard nothing of her since he left Lahore, and that she had only disgraced him, "*Serif humka bud nam deah;*" and on being asked if she had not been kind to him, he said she used to strike him daily!

. . . . In explanation of her severity to him, his confidential servant told me that he was old enough to be aware of her improper conduct with Lal Singh, and had remonstrated with her, and that this had caused her harsh treatment of him. . . . .

Having lately, in the course of reading history with him, met with an allusion to his being the acknowledged, though not the reputed, son of Runjeet Singh, I told him that the conduct of the Maharanee, and the character she had acquired, exposed him to

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this imputation; he said "Ah, yes; it was all too true!" And he had frequently made up his mind, while at Lahore, that he should have his mother killed, that she might not disgrace him!

It not yet being considered prudent to allow the Maharajah to reside in the hills during the hot weather, owing to the difficulty of providing for his safety, and as the boy seemed rather to suffer from the heat of Futtehghur, Login secured for him a change of residence at the Rukha, about three miles off; and he used to go out there for several days at a time, with his tutor and companions, taking with him his gun and hawks to have some sport.

His passion for the national sport of hawking was great. He entered into all the details of training and feeding the birds with absorbing interest; but as the necessary process entailed great cruelty to animals, it was not relished by his young companions, and was, as far as possible, discouraged by Login, who dreaded lest the indifference to suffering which it engendered, might develop that tendency to barbarity which is so inherent in the Oriental character.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE NEOPHYTE.



In November, 1850, Login, who was anxious to be in Calcutta to receive his wife on her landing, obtained a month's leave of absence from the Governor-General, with permission to appoint Captain Campbell as his substitute *pro tem.* at Futtehghur. It was whilst Login was away from his charge on this occasion, that the Maharajah took an important step, by suddenly announcing his intention of embracing the Christian religion.

The first intimation of such a resolve on the part of the young Prince, was received by Login at Calcutta in a letter from the Maharajah himself.

The whole subject at once gave rise to an extensive official correspondence, of which want of space permits only a very few extracts.

On the 20th December, 1850, Captain J. Campbell (7th Madras Cavalry) thus reports the fact to the Government :—

. . . . On Sunday the 8th inst., His Highness the Maharajah communicated to me, through Master Thomas Scott, his desire to

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become a Christian, as he termed it. In an hour or so after this abrupt disclosure, I took His Highness aside, and carefully questioned him on the subject; the substance of his answer was, that he had for a long time been convinced of the falsehoods put forth by the Pundits, that he could no longer restrain himself from professing his belief in our Bible (which he had of late caused one of his attendants to read to him), and that he was determined to embrace the Christian faith. At His Highness's request, I next day communicated the intelligence to Dr. Login. His reply, received this morning, is to the effect that he wishes His Highness to make no change in his mode of life or religious observances which is likely to offend the prejudice of his Sikh attendants, and that any declaration of his sentiments at present is altogether premature. . . . . The avowed change in His Highness's religious sentiments, I may add, is regarded by the Dewan Ajoodhea Pershad (himself a Brahmin, but an honest old soldier) with a most impartial eye. . . . I cannot see how, without exercising a restraint over him, which I conceive would have been foreign to the declared intention of Government—"always to stand *neuter* in religious matters as regards the natives of the country"—I could have prevented his expressing and conducting himself as he has done. . . . . I purposely delayed communicating His Highness's change of sentiments, the more surely to ascertain the probability of their permanence. . . . . I have arrived at the conclusion, that he is more deeply impressed with the subject than his years would seem to render likely.

On receipt of this intelligence, Sir H. Elliot, the Secretary to the Government, desired Login, on resuming his duties, to furnish the Government with full and explicit information, on all points likely to throw light on "an act so singular in a boy of such

tender years, and so placed as His Highness the Maharajah still is." Chapter IX. 1850.

The Governor-General desires to be informed, says this despatch, whether you have had any reason to suppose, at any time since the Maharajah has been under your charge, that His Highness gave his attention to matters connected with the Christian faith. Whether you or Mr. Guise, or any European person who have had charge of, or may have had access to him, have introduced the subject of our religion to his notice; have talked to him upon it, or engaged him in any question regarding it? Whether the young gentlemen who have been allowed to reside with him as his playfellows (Mr. Barlow or Mr. Scott) have talked to him, or been talked to by him thereupon . . . . and where the Bible was procured, which His Highness says has been read to him by an attendant, and who that attendant is?

*Letter to* LORD DALHOUSIE *from* J. S. LOGIN.

FUTTEHGHUR, *Jan. 20th*, 1851.

MY LORD,

. . . . I send for your Lordship's perusal, a statement 1851.
furnished to me by Bhajun Lal, the Maharajah's Brahmin attendant, who has been in His Highness's confidence ever since he began to entertain any intention of renouncing his own faith, and whose account of the circumstances, though rather quaintly expressed, may, I believe, be fully depended on. I was at first disposed to consider the Maharajah's desire to embrace Christianity as a mere sentiment, arising from the feelings of friendship and goodwill which he entertains towards us Christians; and I endeavoured to dissuade him by letter, from making any

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change in his mode of life with reference to his observance of caste, which would be likely to give offence to his Sikh attendants, until he could explain to them fully his reasons for withdrawing from them. But from the conversations I have held with him since my return to Futtehghur, the shrewdness and intelligence of his remarks on religious subjects, as well as from the whole account of the manner in which the conviction has arisen in his mind, I am now led to think that his impressions are much more deeply seated, and I should be incurring a greater responsibility than I am prepared, or willing, to undertake, in denying him the wished-for instruction in our faith and doctrine. Although only a boy in years, and in all the freshness with which he enjoys his play and amusements, he is by no means so in judgment and understanding; and it is almost impossible for any one who has not had an opportunity of conversing with him, to give the weight to his opinions which they deserve. Although this impression of his character is shared by many here, I am anxious that your Lordship should not incur the risk of being misled by any prejudice which I may have been led to entertain towards him, and I would therefore respectfully solicit your Lordship to request Mr. Thomason, when passing through the station, to take an opportunity of conversing with His Highness, and to acquaint you with his opinion on the subject. The official report which I am about to submit to your Lordship will be accompanied by statements of the Dewan Ajoodhea Pershad, the Fakeer Zehooroodeen, and Sirdar Boor Singh, regarding the circumstances under which the Maharajah's determination to embrace Christianity took place, and will all, I believe, tend to prove to your Lordship's satisfaction, that no improper influence has been made use of to induce him to renounce the religion of his people.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S *Reply*.

Just received your letter of 20th, enclosing statement of the Maharajah's Brahmin attendant. It contains a very singular

narrative, which will no doubt be further illustrated by the official papers you mention, but which have not yet reached me. Chapter IX 1851.

I have written to Mr. Thomason, requesting him to visit the Maharajah if he should pass near Futtehghur, but I doubt whether he goes in that direction.

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

*Statement of* LALA BHAJUN LAL *to* DR. LOGIN.

FUTTEHGHUR, *Jan.* 17*th*, 1851.

SIR,

As you want to know the circumstances of His Highness Maharaj's breaking his caste since you left, I have the honour to explain before your honour, what all I have known from the time when I was employed in His Highness's service.

When the Maharaj began to learn out of an English book, by name of "English Instructor," there were some lines at the back end of the book with few words about Christian religion. You once said to Maharaj, "These are records about our religion; if you want to read them, then read, and if you don't want, you can leave them;" but His Highness say to me, "Never mind, I will read them, because I want to know everything;" then they were read. As I was with him at all the times, he used to ask me questions about our religion (*Sudras*): What is the benefit by bathing in Gunga Jee? Would it take us into heaven if we still do other wicked works and bathe in Gunga? I replied, and said, "Maharaj, it is written in our Shastras, but I do not know whether we would go into heaven or hell." Then he said, "Yes, but it depends on our works." And so on he would speak.

In the month of Barsakh (May), Maharaj began to have some of our religious books read, and in one book there was written a paragraph about a Rajah who used to make charity of ten thousand cows every morning before taking his breakfast! This

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way the said Maharajah used his alms of ten thousand cows during the time of his life. But it came to pass, that if any *one* of these cows came again or was bought by his servants without knowing it, and the Rajah made his alms of that cow again, by this he was cast into hell. Now when the Katha was over, and the Pundit gone, His Highness's servant Jewindah said to Maharaj, "See, is it not impossible that now the Rajah could get so much new cow every day?" Maharajah answered and said, "Yes! it is quite nonsense; and that's why I doubt many things what the Pundit do say."

Such conversations had been many times, but I always found him very conscious, and of high opinion, and not superstitious, and of a reasonable mind.

Now, Sahib, after some time you went to Calcutta, Maharaj saw one copy of Holy Bible into my hand, and asked of me, "Will you sell this over to me?" I replied, and said, "Maharaj, I don't want to sell it to you, but I can present you, if you can read a chapter out of it without any assistance." So he did read, and I presented him my Bible. After some short time, he asked me to read to him, and let him hear it, and according to his orders I did read. First day I read 6th chapter St. Matthew, and few others during whole week. Sometimes Bible, sometimes a few tricks,* then sometimes out of "Boy's Own Book"; but I am sure I never heard any Englishman, talking or reading him any of their religious things.

After this week, then Maharaj disclosed his designs to Captain Campbell and to Mr. Guise, that he approves the Christian religion is true, and that of his own is *not* true. Then the gentlemen said, "Well, Maharaj, if you understand it with your conscience, it is far better, and we would be only very happy if you would understand it." But I well know and can certify that whatever

* Legerdemain and improvising tales, were resorted to by his attendants to amuse him.

Maharaj did say or do, he did it by his pleasure and opinion, but not by any man's beguiling. Chapter IX. 1851.

When I did ask Maharaj, "Do you really believe, or merely joking?" he then answered, and said, "I really do believe, and I will embrace the Christian religion, because long before mine designation was to do this."

After two or three days, on Sunday, I came back from my city house at twelve (because I often go to city on Saturday evening, and come back on Sunday at midday). Maharaj told to me, "Bhajun Lal, I have become a Christian." I then say, "What did you eat?" He answered and said, "I have not eaten anything, but my heart is changed. See now, I have not gone to play, nor like to play, on this day." But when cool of evening came, he went out hawking with his favourite hawk. When he came back into the house I asked him, "Maharaj, how is it that you told me that you would no more play on this day, but you went and played with your hawks?" He answered, and said, "I forgot, and am very sorry for that." After two days more he began to say that he would take tea with Tommy Scott and Robbie Carshore. I said, "Very well, do whatever you like, but do only that thing which you well know will do good for you at the end." On Wednesday I had some work in the city, and I took his leave at twelve and went; and when I came back at evening, I found Maharaj, T. Scott, and R. Carshore, in Maharaj's room, sitting at a table, and all tea-plates were arranged on the table, and *he* (the Maharaj) was boiling the water. As soon as he saw me, he came out of the room, and told me, "See now, I am going to make tea with mine own hands, and then we all three take together." I answered, and said, "Very good, Maharaj, do whatever you like; but I tell you one thing, that you must not take tea, or do anything, until Dr. Login Sahib comes back." He replied, "That you do not know if Dr. Login will allow me to do it, and then I will be very sorry!" After this he went and made the tea with his own hands, and took with T. Scott

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and B. Carshore; but all whatever he did, he did with his pleasure, and was very anxious if Dr. Login will like him to do his wilful work. He will be very much pleased and glad, to hear if you will allow him to break his caste, and he will be very happy in breaking his caste,

Sir, as far as I know, I have related with justice.

Your most obedient, humble servant,

BHÁJUN LAL.

*Extracts from* J. S. LOGIN'S *Official Report.*

FUTTEHGHUR, *Jan. 27th*, 1851.

. . . . Previous to my departure from Calcutta, on the 15th November last, I had no reason to suppose that His Highness had given any attention to matters connected with the Christian faith, although I had certainly observed that neither the Sikh nor the Hindoo religion had taken any firm hold of his mind. On several occasions he has expressed his doubts of the truth of the stories read, or related to him, by his Pundits, from their Shastras, and made some very shrewd remarks on the superstitious observances both of Sikhs and Hindoos, and on the selfishness and ignorance of their priesthood. As an indication of the bent of his mind, I may particularly mention one instance:—

About a fortnight before I left for Calcutta, he came to my room with his attendant, early one morning, as was frequently his custom, while I was reading by candle-light, and the conversation happening to turn upon the subject of the position of the earth in the solar system, . . . . he asked me to show him how an eclipse of the moon took place. This I attempted to do in a very simple way . . . . and apparently succeeded so much to his satisfaction, that he exclaimed in Hindostani, "Wait for two or three years, until I have learnt all about it. Won't I puzzle the Pundits!"

As I carefully abstained from encouraging or objecting to any remarks of the kind, nothing more was, I believe, said on the subject. Chapter IX. 1851.

During my absence at Calcutta, His Highness frequently wrote to me, both in English and in Urdu.

In the note of the 2nd December, herewith submitted* in original, he first made known to me, that his Brahmin attendant, Bhajun Lal, had been reading the Holy Scriptures to him, and he desired that I would bring him a copy of the Bible.

On the 7th December, His Highness again wrote to me,† that

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* FUTTEHGHUR, *2nd Dec.*, 1850.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I hope you continue quite well, and that I shall soon receive another letter from you.

We are all well here. Captain Campbell presided at our examination, and I got twenty-three marks; but Shahzadah only got ten, Tommy seventeen, and Robby eighteen.

Will you kindly send me a nice Bible, for I like very much to read, because yesterday Bhajun Lal was reading to me; and also do send me a chest of fine tools, for carpenter's work.

Yours very sincerely,
DULEEP SINGH,
*Maharajah.*

P.S. Bhajun Lal's most respectful compliments, may reach to my master's honour.

† FUTTEHGHUR, *Dec. 7th*, 1850.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I was very glad to receive your kind letter. I am quite well, and I hope that you found Mrs. Login quite recovered, on her arrival in Calcutta. I amuse myself every evening by making Bhajun Lal read to me.

I have begun the Bible, and generally hear one or two chapters.

Yours very sincerely,
DULEEP SINGH,
*Maharajah.*

Bhajun Lal's best service to his master; prays for his master's safety and good health. Everything is going on rightly. His attention towards the hawks is not as you left, but it is increasing towards his lessons.

He has been so much pleased upon his servant, that he has presented a *safah* of *jhallers* (muslin turban with gold fringe).

Excuse me if anything incorrectly written.

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he continued to hear the Bible read by his attendant, Bhajun Lal, and he enclosed a note from the latter on the subject.

This was followed on the 9th inst. by another note* in his own handwriting, in which His Highness declares his determination to embrace the Christian religion, as he had long doubted the truth of the one he had been brought up in, and was convinced of the truth of the religion of the Bible, which he had lately made his attendant Bhajun Lal read to him. This note was enclosed in a letter from Captain Campbell, acquainting me that a similar declaration had been made by the Maharajah to him, and that the servants were aware of the avowal.

In reply to Captain Campbell's letter, I expressed my regret that the avowal should have been made known so hastily, and before sufficient time had elapsed to ascertain the depth and permanence of the Maharajah's impressions on the subject; as, from the suddenness of the announcement, I couldn't at the time consider them other than a mere sentiment arising from the feelings of friendship and goodwill which he entertained towards us Christians. I, at the same time, wrote to the Maharajah, advising him to make no change in his mode of life, with respect to the

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* FUTTEHGHUR, *Dec. 9th*, 1850.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I hope you are quite well, and Mrs Login also. I am well and happy. You will be surprised to learn of my determination to embrace the Christian religion. I have long doubted the truth of the one I was brought up in, and am convinced of the truth of the religion of the Bible, which I have of late made Bhajun Lal read portions of to me.

I have asked Captain Campbell to write to you on this subject.

Yours very sincerely,

DULEEP SINGH,

*Maharajah.*

Bhajun Lal, who acted as secretary to his master, has added, it will be seen, some quaint postscripts of his own to these letters. Their English is in somewhat odd contrast to that of the letters themselves, which were dictated to him by the Maharajah.

observances of caste, which would be likely to give offence to his Sikh attendants, until he was able fully to explain his reasons for withdrawing from them. . . . . Chapter IX. 1851.

From the conversations I have held with the Maharajah he appears from a very early age to have been led to entertain doubts of the truth of the Sikh and Hindoo religions, and to have been led to consider Mahomedanism or Christianity in a more favourable light. As his age increased, and he was brought more into communication with Christians, his prejudices in favour of their religion became gradually stronger, although he was but very imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines which they held, and indeed had given but little consideration to the subject.

Since his arrival at Futtehghur these sentiments have continued to gain strength, and have certainly not been discouraged by his Brahmin attendant, Bhajun Lal, a young man of very respectable connections in the city of Furruckabad, who has been educated at the public school in the city under charge of the Rev. Messrs. Macaulay and Scott of the American Presbyterian Mission, and whom, from his intelligence, good character, and knowledge of the English language, I was led to place near the Maharajah on the departure of his old servant Kurreem Bux Meah Kheema, not knowing at the time his sentiments were so favourably disposed towards Christianity, as he continued, and still continues, to live in the strict observance of Hindooism.

Although previous to my departure for Calcutta no indications had been observed by myself or Mr. Guise, or the native gentlemen who are in attendance upon His Highness, of his intention to embrace the Christian faith, unless the casual remark made by him to Mr. Guise, and his desire to read the portion of his book bearing upon the doctrines of Christianity, may be so considered, I find that the Maharajah had upwards of a month before, under a promise of secrecy, mentioned to his playfellow, Thomas Scott, that it was his desire "to become a Christian, as he did not believe the Hindoo religion! and that if I, as his guardian, made any

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objections just now, he would wait until he embarked for England, when he would tell me, that as his caste had been broken, I could not refuse him permission!" but up to that time, his mind does not appear to have been perfectly made up, and it was only after he heard some portions of Scripture read to him by his Brahmin attendant, that he was led to declare his desire to adopt the Christian faith. . . . .

In some respects it is a fortunate circumstance that the Maharajah's determination should have been expressed at a time when his knowledge of the English language was so imperfect as to render it impossible for any instruction on religious subjects to be conveyed to him through that medium, without being at the same time explained in Hindostani, and that the native gentlemen who have been in attendance on His Highness, as well as all his native servants, have thus been enabled to judge whether any attempts have been made to interfere with his belief in an improper way. I therefore enclose statements * written in the vernacular by the three native gentlemen in attendance, and by His Highness's own family priest, or *porohut*, testifying that in their opinion no undue influence has been exerted, and His Highness's resolution is entirely spontaneous. . . . . .

The Brahmin, Bhajun Lal, though still professing Hindooism,

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* In the above report were also enclosed statements from—
The Dewan Ajoodhea Pershad;
The Fakeer Zehooroodeen (Urdu and Persian tutor to His Highness);
The Sirdar Boor Singh;
The Porohut Golâb Rai, family priest of the Maharajahs of Lahore;
Bhajun Lal, Brahmin attendant of His Highness.
Mr. Walter Guise, the Maharajah's English tutor, in his statement, remarks (after saying that neither he nor any European having access to him had ever held conversations with him on the subject of the Christian religion): "That His Highness was actuated by any such motive as the desire of pleasing those placed over him, is highly improbable, when it is considered that he studiously sought to conceal from them his determination . . . . long after he had communicated it to Master Scott, whom he bound not to reveal it."

is evidently well disposed towards the Christian faith, and, I believe, anxious to speak the truth without reserve.

The Fakeer Zehooroodeen is equally honest and straightforward in his statement, and, being a Mahomedan, by no means disposed to view the change in an unfavourable light. I had made arrangements to allow him to return to his family at Lahore, on my return from Calcutta, and he was naturally very anxious to rejoin his friends there, one of his children having died in his absence; but in consequence of what has occurred, he has voluntarily, and without the least hint from me, requested permission to remain for some time longer with the Maharajah, in order that he may show the opinion which he entertains on the subject.

The Dewan Ajoodhea Pershad, though also a man of as much moral courage and honesty as I have ever met with among Brahmins, and certainly by no means bigoted in his creed, still continues to profess the Hindoo religion, and it is but natural that he should be less disposed to notice the maturity of the Maharajah's judgment on such matters, than the Fakeer has been, and should be more guarded in his statements. . . . .

The Sirdar Boor Singh's statement is as explicit on the subject as could be desired. I understand that, when the Maharajah's Punjabi servants asked him to join in a petition to Captain Campbell, he told them that had any compulsion been used towards the Maharajah, in regard to his change of creed, or any undue influence been exerted, he would have considered it his duty to have remonstrated, but as the declaration had been made of the Maharajah's own free will, and his whole heart was set upon carrying out his determination, he could not in any way interfere.

It must not, however, be overlooked that the Sirdar, on account of his more intimate connection with the Shahzadah Sheo Deo Singh, may not be disposed to regret the step taken by the Maharajah; but at the same time, in proof of his confidence that no

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undue advantage is taken by us, as Christians, in the instruction of either the Maharajah or Shahzadah, he continues to be in every respect satisfied with the manner in which the latter is instructed.

In expressing his satisfaction at the manner in which facilities have been afforded to him and to the Ranee, the mother of the Shahzadah Sheo Deo Singh, in the exercise of their religious rites, he has, I need scarcely remark, somewhat overstated the case.

The Pundit Golâb Rai, the family *porohut* of the Maharajahs of Lahore, though naturally disappointed at the Maharajah's renunciation of Hindooism, bears testimony to the absence of any attempt to influence His Highness on the subject.

From a perusal of the whole evidence, I trust it will appear to the satisfaction of his Lordship that no improper influence has been used by myself, or any one who has had access to His Highness, to induce him to adopt the Christian faith.

While I have been fully sensible of the responsibility of my position with respect to His Highness, and earnestly desirous that he should be educated in such a manner as to reflect no discredit upon me as a Christian, I have not been forgetful of the delicate nature of the duties entrusted to me by the Government, but have constantly borne in mind that in his case the principles of Christian morality, which it was my desire he should acquire during his tender years, could only be set before him by a consistent example. This I have endeavoured to do so far as my infirmities of temper and judgment have permitted, trusting that God would do the rest.

I have often felt the constraint imposed on me in being unable to point out the true and only source of every good, and in being obliged to content myself with instructing him, so far as I could, in the principles of true morality, without reference to the source from whence they came.

I have, I believe, answered briefly and incidentally any questions he, or his attendants in his hearing, have casually asked me on

points connected with the Christian faith, but I cannot recall to mind any particular instance; and the only occasions on which I remember to have touched on the subject of our Scriptures in the Maharajah's presence were shortly after I received charge of His Highness at Lahore, and again about three months since. Chapter IX. 1851.

On the former occasion, the Maharajah had come to my room with his attendant, Meah Kheema, and other Mahomedan and Hindoo servants, one Sunday morning, and the conversation happening to turn, on the subject of the extent and greatness of the British power and dominions, I took occasion to say that "it was not from any superiority in ourselves, as men, that this took place, but solely from the goodness of God towards us, as a nation, and that so long as we acknowledged this with all our hearts, and acted as men who felt the responsibility of our position, as stewards of God's bounty, we should continue to prosper;" and with reference to the increase of population in England, as compared with the Eastern nations, and to our own particular position in India, I pointed out to Meah Kheema and the other Mahomedans that the Prophet Noah had said, "God shall enlarge Japhet, he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant;" and I told them, that I believed it to be in fulfilment of that prophecy that we were now among them. I remember that those who were present seemed much pleased with the conversation, and that Meah Kheema asked to be allowed to take the Persian Bible, in which I had pointed out the passage, to have it read to him; but whether he explained any portion of it to the Maharajah, who did not understand Persian, I do not know. . . . .

With respect to the book, the "English Instructor" mentioned by Bhajun Lal, in which some pages at the end refer to the tenets of Christianity, the book in question was one used in the school here by Bhajun Lal and his brother. I have also allowed the Maharajah, and Shahzadah, to use the books of the Scottish School Book Association, along with their schoolfellows,

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Masters Scott and Carshore, as being extremely well suited to beginners; and in these also, some portions, having reference to Christianity, occur, which the Maharajah has voluntarily read, but from all I can learn, up to the time at which he commenced having the Bible read to him, he had not paid any attention to their purport, and they have not in any way influenced his mind towards the step he has taken. . . . .

I must confess, however, that had the Maharajah asked my permission to read the Bible, I should have offered no objection, and that I would have given him equal permission to read the Koran, the Grunt'h, the Shastras, or any other book of the kind, which is not considered immoral, in the same way as he had read the Mahomedan Kureema with his Urdu teacher, before I took charge of him. . . . .

Considering the relative character and disposition of His Highness, as compared with Master Scott, to whom he first made known his intention of becoming a Christian, I cannot but consider the latter to have been altogether passive in the matter; or if he did exert any influence over the Maharajah's mind, in leading him to adopt the same faith, it could only have arisen from His Highness's friendly regard for the boy, and the admiration of the honesty and truthfulness of his character, which he has frequently expressed.

In all that relates to the religious ceremonies of His Highness, I have uniformly observed the strictest neutrality, and have left him and his people to the free exercise of their own wishes on the subject. . . . .

When on one occasion, in May last, His Highness expressed a wish to have his Pundit to read prayers to him daily, as he observed was customary with us, this was at once arranged; and it was during the attendance of the Pundit for that purpose that the circumstances occurred, which are related by Bhajun Lal. I had been equally careful to avoid giving offence to the prejudices of the Maharajah and his Sikh attendants, in so far as lay in my

power, in other matters, forbidding the use of beef at my table, or the practice of smoking tobacco near the house; and from all I can learn, the care which I had taken in this respect has been fully appreciated by them. Chapter IX. 1851.

I have, on several occasions, proposed to the Maharajah to inquire for a native boy of respectable rank, to be educated along with him, but he has uniformly declined any offer of the kind, preferring to have only English boys with him. . . .

Ever since the assassination, in his presence, of his uncle, the Sirdar Jowahir Singh, at Meean Meer, by the Sikh soldiery, the Maharajah has entertained a dread of his own countrymen, and a dislike to their religion and all connected with them. This feeling towards them he was, of course, obliged to conceal, until circumstances enabled him to declare his sentiments; but ever since I have taken charge of him, he has spoken out freely on the subject, and on every opportunity has shown his prejudice against them.

For several years past, little care appears to have been taken to instruct him in the principles of the Sikh religion; for, excepting what he might pick up when the Grunt'h was read to him occasionally (to which he gave but little attention), he has been left very much to chance for information on the subject. He, however, continued to be regular in the observance of such Hindoo ceremonies as are customary among the Sikhs, and to hear portions of their sacred books read to him by his Pundits.

After these occasions, it not infrequently happened that the subject of the stories read to him were discussed in private with his favourite attendant, Meah Kheema, and his son, who as Mussulmaun, could not always conceal their disbelief in them, or avoid giving encouragement to the doubts which arose in His Highness's mind on the subject.

While his prejudices against his own people and their faith were thus gaining strength, circumstances had occurred in his outward position to lead him to consider the English his most sincere friends, and the kindness and consideration which he

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experienced from Lord Hardinge, Sir Henry Lawrence, Lord Gough, and Sir Frederick Currie, disposed him most favourably towards them, and to other Englishmen who had access to him; and he fully appreciated their cordiality and friendly feelings, although sometimes expressed with less ceremony than he had been accustomed to.

These sentiments of friendly confidence have been confirmed, and, I am happy to think, rendered permanent, by the cordial and kindly reception which His Highness met with from the Most Noble the Governor-General at Lahore, and by the kind interest which his Lordship has always taken in his welfare; and I do not think that there is a single person within Her Majesty's dominions who is at present more convinced that the annexation of the Punjab was forced on us by circumstances than the Maharajah, or more satisfied as to the friendly sincerity of the English Government towards him.

By far the greater number of the old servants who accompanied him to Futtehghur were Mussulmaun, only a very few Sikhs, who were necessary on the establishment, being apparently disposed to come.

Among those who had the option of accompanying the Maharajah were the four or five Sikhs priests, *Grunt'hees*, in regular attendance upon His Highness.

Before leaving Lahore, I sent for them, and explained, that they were at liberty to join His Highness if they wished, and to take a copy of the Grunt'h with them, which was left in their charge for the purpose, and I stated that I would make arrangements for their comfortable accommodation in the event of their doing so. They did not, however, avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them, and His Highness left the Punjab without any religious attendant of his own sect, or any copy of their sacred book, nor had he expressed the least desire, since he left Lahore, to have the want supplied.

One of the four Brahmin *porohuts*, or family priests, did,

however, remain in attendance on His Highness, after making arrangements with the other three—who conjointly hold *jagheers* for the performance of the duty—that they should relieve each other every six months. On the expiry of that time, the priest in attendance, Golâb Rai, wrote to the others to relieve him as had been arranged among them, but they very decidedly refused to do so, and he has, in consequence, had to remain in Hindostan, much longer than he at first intended. Chapter IX. 1851.

. . . . . Ever since the Maharajah's determination has been openly avowed, he has been most anxious to obtain Christian instruction, and he has even requested to join us at family prayers, which I have not considered myself justified in preventing.

That his desire to embrace Christianity is ardent and sincere, no one who has had an opportunity of conversing with him on the subject can have any doubt; while the manner in which he has refused any longer to conform to Hindoo ceremonies, and the reasons which he has given for the step he has taken, evince a maturity of judgment far beyond his age.

Though anxious to lay aside all observances of caste, and to adopt European customs, he has not done so, in consequence of the advice which I gave him in the first instance—not to give unnecessary offence to his Hindoo attendants. But he only requires to know that no objection will be offered on the part of Government, to do this at once.

*Letter from* J. S. Login *to* Lord Dalhousie, *accompanying the Official Report.*

Futtehghur, *Jan.*, 1851.

My Lord,

. . . . I regret to find that your Lordship supposes, from the circumstance that I forwarded Colonel Goodwyn's estimate and plans, that I contemplate for the Maharajah a future much more royal than is intended. So far as it has been in my power,

Chapter IX. 1851.

I have endeavoured gradually to wean his mind from any desire for royal state, and to render him happy and contented under his altered circumstances. Under the impression that it was desirable to lead His Highness to consider Futtehghur as his permanent residence, and knowing, from my experience at Lucknow, that the amount was far below the sum frequently expended by *private* native gentlemen on their residences (the property adjoining that of His Highness at Futtehghur, formerly occupied by the late Hakim Mhendi, having cost nearly double the amount), I certainly so far approved of Colonel Goodwyn's designs as to submit them to your Lordship; but now that your Lordship's wishes are made known to me, I have at once pointed out to His Highness the kind consideration shown by your Lordship, in desiring that no expensive improvements be made on his residence at present, in order that he may, when he comes of age, have it in his power, without much loss, to change his residence, should he choose to do so.

Regarding the wish of His Highness to visit England, I have, in accordance with your instructions, endeavoured to wean him from the idea at present, by pointing out to him that during his state of pupilage a visit would scarcely be considered *voluntary* by the people of India, and that even among ourselves it would be viewed in a much more complimentary light, if postponed until he came of age, and able to exercise his own free will in the matter. Although he quite agreed in the reasonableness of the objection, he is still as eager as ever to carry out his intention, and frequently speaks of his visit; and no later than yesterday he told me of a dream he had on the subject, and described all that had occurred to him on landing in England! With regard to the very important subject of his marriage, I think that it is likely, owing to his altered position, from what has lately occurred, that he may be more desirous to consult his own wishes and inclination, on the subject of the selection of a wife, than he was before, so it may be dropped for the present.

I had the pleasure of seeing the Rajah of Coorg and his daughter, at Benares, on my way up, and although I did not make the least allusion to the connection, I could perceive that it was not likely to be displeasing to him. The Rajah had just had an offer of marriage for her, from Jung Bahadoor, and was rather curious to ascertain how he stood in the estimation of the people of England; and from what he said, I did not gather that he was favourably disposed to him. Chapter IX. 1851.

The Lieut.-Governor N.W.P. (Mr. Thomason) has just arrived at this station, and I have asked him to take an opportunity of conversing freely with His Highness on the subject of the wish he has expressed, to become a Christian.

I remain,

Yours, etc.,

J. S. Login.

LORD DALHOUSIE *to* DR. LOGIN.

CAMP, JUBBEE, *Feb. 10th*, 1851.

I have not been able to reply before. Under all the circumstances, communication must be made to the Court of Directors, and until I get their reply, no final instructions can be given you. I shall be happy to attend to any proposals that may come for building at Futtehghur. Whatever may be done, must be regulated by what will be the future amount of the Maharajah's income, and not by any reference to what may have been done by wealthy gentlemen from Lucknow. With respect to marriage, I agree with you, that there is no necessity for haste in concluding a betrothal with an unmarriageable child, in the singular circumstances in which the Maharajah now stands. I am glad you have asked Mr. Thomason to see the boy.

Chapter IX. 1851.

*Extract from despatch of* SECRETARY *to* GOVERNMENT *acknowledging* J. S. LOGIN'S *Official Report.*

CAMP, MURUM, *Feb. 17th*, 1851.

The Governor-General is entirely satisfied by this statement, and by the documents transmitted in support of it, that no improper influence had, either directly or indirectly, been used by you, or by any of the English gentlemen who have been connected with His Highness's establishment, to induce His Highness to abjure his original faith and to profess Christianity. His Lordship requests that his conviction on this head may be made known to you, and may by you be communicated to the others.

In a matter of so much moment, and one so singular, as the adoption of the Christian faith by a native Prince under our immediate guardianship, the final instructions to which the Governor-General has alluded, cannot be issued without a reference to the Home authorities. A communication will be addressed to them by the next mail, and an immediate reply will be solicited.

In the meantime, you will be so good as to acquaint the Maharajah, that His Highness's desire to embrace the Christian faith has been communicated to the Governor-General. You will represent to His Highness, that to relinquish the faith of his own people, and to adopt another creed, is a step of so great importance, that at his early age it is the duty of the Government of India, which is charged with the care and nurture of his youth, to see that whatever His Highness may do, shall be done deliberately, and with a full knowledge of the nature and effect of his acts. You are to add that, under these circumstances, his Lordship desires to acquaint the highest authorities in England of the intention which His Highness has expressed, and to obtain their instructions for his guidance.

Until these instructions shall be received, and until they shall be made known to the Maharajah, his Lordship trusts that His Highness will not make any public declaration of his wishes, that he will not throw aside the restrictions of caste, or needlessly disregard the religious observances he has hitherto respected.

. . . . . Should the Maharajah continue to express an earnest desire to read the Bible, as a portion of his daily instruction, the Governor-General does not consider himself justified in directing that his wish shall be opposed, if it be manifestly sincere and earnest. But instruction in the tenets of the Christian faith should not at present be thrust upon him, if he should appear indifferent on the subject. For the same reason you will advise the Maharajah to discontinue his attendance at worship in your family, of which His Highness forms no part.

You will understand that, in communicating these instructions, the Governor-General does not convey any intimation of an intention to oppose the adoption of the Christian faith by the Maharajah, if his Lordship should be left free to proceed on his own judgment. The Governor-General's object is to prevent the risk of His Highness acting in this matter precipitately, and on the mere impulse intelligible in a boy of good capacity and strong will, who has been placed in the peculiar circumstances which you have well described in your statement, now before his Lordship.

At the same time, the Governor-General feels it his duty not to act finally on his own judgment, in a case so important and so novel, without submitting it for the consideration of the Honourable Court of Directors in the first instance.

*Extract from a letter to* LORD DALHOUSIE.

The Maharajah quite agrees that it is wise and proper that he should, at present, make no changes that could possibly offend his people, until he has proved the strength and reality of his con-

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victions, but he is anxious to show that he can do this, without affecting his desire to become a Christian. He had, of his own accord, before the receipt of your Lordship's letter, discontinued his attendance at our family prayers, as he said he thought it hypocritical to appear to join in a service which, from his imperfect knowledge of English, he did not sufficiently understand; but he continues to read the Bible regularly, and have it explained to him. In his determination to discontinue the observances of the Hindoo religion, with the exception of such conformity to the restrictions of caste as do no violence to his feelings, no change whatever has taken place.

On the last occasion of the Sinkrat, he distinctly and emphatically, in my presence, and that of the Dewan, refused to give the usual order to the Brahmin treasurer, to pay his customary offering, and desired that the amount (500 rupees) should be set aside, on the first of every month, for charitable purposes.

Since he declared his intention to be a Christian, a marked change has taken place in his habits; he tries to apply his mind to his studies, and shows a wish to acquire knowledge. No desire has been shown by him to attract notoriety by the step he has taken; on the contrary, every circumstance connected with his determination to embrace Christianity tends to show the absence of any unworthy motive in doing so; and he is equally free from any display of his sentiments, as from a desire to conceal them, although he does not hesitate to express them with sufficient boldness when occasions arise.

J. S. L.

On the 11th June an official letter from Sir Henry Elliot conveyed to Dr. Login the acquiescence of the Court of Directors in the desire of the Maharajah, which was couched in the following terms :—

We concur entirely in the views expressed by Lord Dalhousie on this occasion, and we authorize him at his discretion, appreciating most fully the wisdom of his Lordship's resolution, that in following out these views no undue publicity, no ostentatious announcement would be permitted.

Commenting on this letter of the Court, Sir H. Elliot says:—

It is the Governor-General's wish, that if the Maharajah's declared desire shall not have been a transient fancy, he should henceforth receive every aid and guidance which can be given to him in following out the happy choice to which he has been led by the light his heart has received.

But it is his Lordship's positive command, that this object shall be carried into effect without any parade or publicity, without any circumstances of excitement or notoriety, which may either lead the boy to fancy himself an object of extraordinary interest, or may admit of his being made so by others among us.

The introduction of any such circumstances as these, in connection with the step which the Maharajah has taken, could only be injurious to himself, and tend to qualify our assurance of his singleness of purpose, and of the reality of his convictions.

His Lordship relies on your prudence and judgment for giving effect to these views of the Government of India, respecting the future religious education of Maharajah Duleep Singh, by conducting it in a manner marked only by its earnestness and simplicity. There is nothing which requires to be concealed. At the same time the Governor-General trusts that all newspaper paragraphs, all communications to religious periodicals, which are likely to be put forth, announcing the conversion of a native Prince, may, so far as in you lies, be discouraged and prevented.

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It is his Lordship's earnest hope that the boy's spontaneous wish may prove to be rooted and stable, and that he may imbibe with eagerness and perseverance that knowledge of Christian truth which he has thus early and unexpectedly sought. To that end our best and faithful exertions should now be steadily directed. We should content ourselves with the consciousness that we are labouring for good, and with the hope that it will in the end be fully and permanently secured. But in the meantime, his Lordship enjoins upon all concerned that they abstain from trumpeting abroad either the nature of their labours or anticipations of their issue.

LORD DALHOUSIE *to* MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

SIMLA, *Aug. 2nd*, 1851.

I had the honour of receiving the letter which your Highness addressed to me lately, and learnt, with sincere pleasure, the satisfaction your Highness had experienced, on receiving the reply of the Court of Directors to your wish for full instruction in the truths of the Christian religion.

Your Highness will readily understand that my wish to refer the subject to the Court of Directors did not proceed from any reluctance on my part to meet your views, still less from any doubt of the wisdom of the step you wished to take. I was desirous only that it should be clearly seen that the act was your own, springing from your own heart, and that you had not been led into it hastily, and while you were yet too young to have deeply considered the importance of your act. I rejoice to learn that your Highness remains firm in your desire to be instructed in the doctrines of the Bible, and that you have resolved to embrace a faith, whose teaching, if duly practised by the help of God, will tend to increase your happiness in this life, and will secure it in another that is to come.

During the next cold weather I propose to return to Calcutta. On my way I hope to have the pleasure of meeting your Highness again, and I will not fail to make known to Dr. Login, when I am likely to be in the neighbourhood of Futtehghur. Your desire to visit Agra and Delhi is very proper; they are both of them noble cities, containing some works unsurpassed in beauty in any country in the world. The sight of them will afford your Highness great pleasure. Your Highness has much to see in your own country before the visit to England, which your Highness so earnestly desires to accomplish, can be undertaken with full advantage to yourself. Chapter IX. 1851.

With every good wish for your health and happiness,

I have the honour to be, very respectfully,

Your Highness's faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

*Letter to* LORD DALHOUSIE.

MY LORD,

At the request of His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh, I have the honour to enclose an autograph letter to your Lordship's address, which the Maharajah has drawn up with the assistance of his Brahmin attendant. I have been anxious that the letter should be as much as possible his own production, and have left him to express his own sentiments as far as he could. I have every reason to believe that the satisfaction he has expressed at the permission being granted to him to be educated in the Christian faith is most cordial and sincere, and that he is fully determined, under the blessing of God, to avail himself of every opportunity afforded him of acquiring knowledge on the subject.

Although, as I have already reported, the Maharajah has

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naturally shown a preference for the ministerial visits of the Rev. Gopee Nauth Nundy, he has, since I explained to him your Lordship's desire that every ostentatious publicity on the subject of his religious instruction should be avoided, requested that the chaplain at this station (Dr. Carshore) should be invited to visit him, and he has accordingly done so.

His principal reason for selecting Dr. Carshore, in preference to the other clergy here, has been that the latter are supported by an American missionary society, and could not well have avoided reference to his progress in their periodical reports. There is also another advantage in this arrangement, inasmuch as it will enable the Lord Bishop, at any time, to select a judicious and well-qualified successor to Dr. Carshore, when he leaves Futtehghur. With reference to the future training of His Highness in our Christian faith, your Lordship will excuse me for stating how cordially I shall endeavour to act in the spirit of the instructions which I have received on the subject, as they are in every respect such as I have wished them to be. Your Lordship may rest assured that it is my anxious desire to avoid all ostentatious publicity in everything relating to the Christian education of His Highness, and to conduct it in a manner "marked only by its earnestness and simplicity," as your Lordship requires that it should be done. To enable me, however, to carry out these views effectually, it may be desirable that I should in the first instance make known to the Lord Bishop the whole circumstances of the case, by sending, for his private perusal, a copy of my report and of the commands I have received on the subject, and thus ensure his advice and assistance. As I have for many years been personally known to the Bishop, and have frequently corresponded with him, I can do this now the more easily and without attracting any notice. I shall be glad to receive instructions on this point, as I hear from Dr. Carshore that inquiries have already been made by the Archdeacon on the subject.

Having requested the Maharajah to state fully all his wishes to your Lordship, he has not omitted the opportunity of making known his anxiety to go to the hills next hot season, or his wish to visit England a short time hence. Chapter IX. 1851.

I have tried to restrain his wishes in both these cases; in the former, by telling him that no such comfortable accommodation can be available for him at any of the hill stations as he now has at Futtehghur, and that if permitted to go, he could only take with him a very small establishment. But he readily enough makes up his mind to this, as he rather takes pleasure in dispensing with a large retinue, and in adopting European habits. The reasons he assigns for his wish to go to the hills are, that he can apply more steadily to his studies in a cooler climate, and can have more English boys for playfellows. Although, in deference to the prejudices of his Hindoo attendants, he continues to eat only such food as he has hitherto been accustomed to, cooked by his Brahmin servants, he is anxious to have it served up in the European manner, and has asked me to allow a Mahomedan table-attendant to instruct his people, and be present to point out what is required at his meals. The Punjabi servants who remain in his kitchen, show no objections to these innovations, and readily adopt them, being much less prejudiced than the Hindostani bearers.

The Maharajah himself is quite aware that particular rules in respect to meats and drinks are not essential to Christianity; but, seeing how much importance is attached to these matters by the Hindoos, he does not wish to give them offence unnecessarily, and refrains from the use of beef.

The Maharajah is very anxious to have the opportunity of meeting your Lordship, when passing down the country next cold season, and hopes you will give him the pleasure of receiving you at Futtehghur.

J. S. L.

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LORD DALHOUSIE *to* DR. LOGIN.

SIMLA, *July 31st*, 1851.

. . . . The Bishop's *advice* is all very well, but I pray you to observe, that I will not allow any authoritative interference in the direction of the Maharajah's religious education, either by the Chaplain or by the Bishop, whether directly over the boy or over you. Whatever is done, must be done *through* you, as the responsible superintendent of His Highness in all respects, and must be reported to Government.

If His Highness strongly urges going to the hills next hot weather, I do not know that it need be refused, but he can't have such guards and escort there as at Futtehghur, and I should certainly object to this station, with its large community.

I do not know whether my march downwards will bring me actually to Futtehghur, but it will give me great pleasure to arrange so that I may meet His Highness somewhere. There can be no objection to his visiting Agra and Delhi, or travelling somewhere next cold season.

Many letters, at this time, passed between the Governor-General and Dr. Login, regarding the Maharajah's progress, and on Lord Dalhousie notifying his intention of visiting Futtehghur, in order to meet His Highness, preparations were made to receive the Governor-General and Lady Dalhousie with due honour.

Up to that time, Duleep Singh had made no change in his custom of having his meals served to him separately, but he now expressed a wish to sit at table with

Lord and Lady Dalhousie, on the occasion of the ladies and gentlemen of the station being invited to dine at his house, in order to meet the Viceregal party. He was also very anxious to be excused from attendance at the public durbar, or *levée*, held by the Governor-General for the reception of natives of rank, as he wished to attract as little notice as possible. Special arrangements were therefore made for him to be received privately and without ceremony. Chapter IX. 1851.

LORD DALHOUSIE *to* J. S. LOGIN.

CAMP, ALLAHGUNGA, *Dec. 20th*, 1851.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I shall be happy to see you in camp on the 24th. On the 25th (Christmas Day) we shall reach Futtehghur. I shall be very happy to receive the Maharajah privately, if he prefers it, and we shall be equally happy to dine with you as you propose. The question of his presence at table I leave entirely to his own wishes and feelings; whatever conclusion he may form, I shall be equally content.

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

P.S. I expect to meet at Futtehghur, M. Rochussen, late Governor-General of Java. Lord Stanley may probably be there also. If either of them should arrive before me, you would very greatly oblige me by rendering them any attention you can.

Yours, &c.,

D.

Chapter IX. 1851.

LORD DALHOUSIE *to the* MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

CAMP, ALLAHGUNGA, *Dec. 24th*, 1851.

It has given me sincere pleasure to hear from Dr. Login of your Highness's good health, and to receive from him the very kind and friendly letter which you have done me the favour of addressing to me. It will afford great pleasure both to Lady Dalhousie and myself to dine with your Highness on Saturday next; and during the time we remain at Futtehghur I shall hope to have the honour of seeing you at the time and in the manner most agreeable to your Highness, and of visiting the improvements you have been making around your residence. In the hope of soon having the pleasure of meeting your Highness again,

I have the honour to be, with much respect,

Your Highness's very faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

It could not fail to have been touching to the Governor-General to observe the almost filial confidence reposed in him, by the boy whom he now saw dethroned and exiled by his decree, and Lord Dalhousie's thoughtful care for the comfort and happiness of the Maharajah, was very perceptible. He inspected, personally, the various arrangements of the establishment, and the laying out of the grounds, &c., . . . . expressing his cordial approval of all he saw. He showed himself throughout so thoroughly kind-hearted and genial in

manner, that it was hard to realize this was the man whom his detractors regard as uncompromisingly frigid and autocratic. Chapter IX. 1851.

The Dewan and Fakeer, having received permission to return to the Punjab, took their departure, followed by the good wishes of all. The Maharajah presented the Dewan with a handsome Arab horse, as a mark of his favour and regard, and the Fakeer with a set of tents and 500 rupees. The Brahmin *porohut* (priest) had already left, by the Maharajah's wish.

Before leaving, he placed in Login's hands the horoscope, or nativity, which had been cast at Duleep Singh's birth, and which had been in his charge.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces (Mr. James Thomason) had visited the Maharajah some time previously, and, after several conversations with His Highness, had been most favourably impressed with the earnestness of his convictions and his steady purpose to be educated in the Christian faith.

During all this time of probation, he continued inflexible in his resolve, and never tired of the restraints of study, *when the subject was religion;* but his natural disposition to shirk anything in the shape of steady application was often most amusingly displayed when other branches of education were in question. Every sort of expedient had to be resorted to in order to keep alive his interest; he would struggle manfully for a time, gradually grow hopelessly confused and stupified,

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and end by suddenly falling sound asleep amongst his books!

He had great natural acuteness, and it was wonderful how he imbibed information, when he could obtain it in a pleasant form, without the trouble of applying his mind. To effect this, it became usual to have games on general knowledge, history, geography, &c. . . . in the evenings, when the Maharajah was present. The questions and answers were on cards; whoever answered correctly being the winner of a prize. Mrs. Login was provided with constant occupation in the preparation of fresh series of these, as the Maharajah progressed in knowledge, and the prizes and forfeits were a source of much amusement to her visitors and guests, some of whom may remember the excitement and eagerness of the boy to show his proficiency.

Before his shyness in speaking English could be got over, a system of fines was established for every word of Hindostani spoken in his presence by any person, the amount to go to some particular charity. The Maharajah's boyish delight at this scheme was great. To be revenged for the constant fines levied on himself at first, he set himself cunningly to entrap the unwary, by feigning not to comprehend some particular word in a sentence addressed to him; the Hindostani word was then politely supplied, and the victim was only made aware of his slip by the shout of laughter and demand for the fine which instantly followed from the delighted boy. The amount of

pocket-money allowed to him, and his companions in study, was regulated by the number of marks gained, and this naturally aroused emulation amongst them.

When Lord and Lady Dalhousie came to Futtehghur during Christmastide, 1851, it was a great surprise to the Governor-General to observe the change that a year had wrought on the boy he had seen for the first time at Lahore. From constant association with English ladies and gentlemen, he had rapidly acquired the usages of society, and his chivalrous courtesy to ladies became remarkable. The following occurrence is one instance in point:—

There was a subdued excitement among the Ranee's people when it became noised about that Duleep Singh was forsaking the Sikh religion, and seeking to learn the new faith; of course, if it were so, then the Shahzadah would naturally become of more importance, and would be looked upon by all Sikhs as the true representative of the Khâlsa Raj! It was reported that the Ranee encouraged these ideas, and it was observed that the little boy had begun to take upon himself consequential airs, and to make remarks derogatory to his uncle.* There was an avoidance

* On its coming to the knowledge of the Governor-General that the Shahzadah had been assuming airs of importance and announcing, unchecked by his relatives and attendants, "that he would be placed on the *guddee* by the Khâlsa, as soon

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of his society also perceptible of late, which was very unusual.

The Sikhs attach little importance to the strict preservation of caste, but the Rajpoots are very punctilious; and no doubt the Ranee wished to ascertain for certain if the rumours she heard were true, for she had asked Mrs. Login more than once why the Maharajah had discontinued his visits to her?

One day, when on her way to visit the Ranee, Mrs. Login met the Maharajah and his party hawking in the park. On learning whither she was bent, he asked with some eagerness if he might accompany her, as he did not care to go alone. She agreed, and sent a *chobedar* to announce the coming visit.

They were received, and announced, by the little Shahzadah and the Ranee's handsome young brother, Meah Ootum. There was unusual constraint observable during the visit; even the little Shahzadah seemed not at ease, as if expectant of something about to happen. The Ranee offered refreshments,

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as Duleep Singh went to England as a Christian," Sir H. Elliot was directed to inform Dr. Login that the Ranee must be warned of the consequences of permitting the child to hold such language.

"You will inform the Ranee that the Raj of the Punjab is at an end for ever, and that any contemplation of the restoration of her son, or of anybody else, to sovereignty there is a crime against the State. It is her duty to instruct her son accordingly. If on any future occasion, either she or her son is detected in expressing or entertaining expectations of restoration to power, or to any other position than that which he now occupies, the consequences will be immediate and disastrous to his interests. . . . ."—*Official letter, dated Simla, July, 23rd,* 1851.

and called for fruit-sherbet, for which she was famous. The tray appeared with only *one* glass upon it; this the Ranee filled and offered with deep reverence to her Sovereign; but the Maharajah, who, amongst other lessons, had lately learnt courtesy to women, handed the glass to Mrs. Login instead. Expecting that a second glass would be brought for the Maharajah presently, Mrs Login accepted it, drank part of the contents, and replaced it on the tray. Immediately it was refilled, and once more presented by the Ranee to the Maharajah, while significant glances passed between the brother and sister. Perceiving at once that a premeditated insult was intended, Mrs. Login said quietly, in English, "Don't drink it, Maharaj!". To her surprise he rose, and turning to her with a courteous salutation, he took the glass in his hand and drank off the contents, then, turning on his heel, he abruptly left the house, with the slightest possible gesture of farewell to his sister-in-law, who gazed after him alarmed at the result of her experiment! Chapter IX. 1851.

On taking her leave directly afterwards, Mrs. Login found the young Maharajah waiting outside to escort her home. She then asked him why he took the glass, when he saw that an insult was intended by forcing him to drink *after her?* "What?" he replied, his eyes flashing with indignation, "you would have me let them *insult you too!* *Now* they will see that I honour you, and am not ashamed to show that I have broken caste!"

Chapter IX. 1851.

It was truly a great proof, in one of his up-bringing, of the strength of his convictions, as well as of the chivalry of his nature.

About this time the Maharajah brought to Mrs. Login a very queer-looking brass idol, asking her to take it out of his sight, as he did not want to see it, now that he had given up praying to it. He added, with a smile, "If it had been of gold or silver it would not have been left so long; but it is the only one left now, all the valuable ones have disappeared one after another as they saw I despised them; but they are welcome to them." This same misshapen object of worship is still treasured as a relic of past days.

Duleep Singh was anxious to prove that he was no longer a Sikh, by cutting off the long tress of hair which he, in common with all Sikhs, wore twisted up into a ball above the brow, and covered with the bright coloured under-turban. This he thought would make him more like his English boy companions; and it was much against his will that he was persuaded by Login to defer the shearing of his locks until he had been, for at least a year, under probation. When at length his hair was allowed to be cut off, and he brought it to Mrs. Login as a memento, it was long and abundant as a woman's.

By his own request, he, with several of his people, was present at the baptism of Login's little son; though he was much disappointed at not being allowed

to stand proxy for Sir Henry Lawrence, who was godfather. He did not think it need matter that he was not yet baptized himself! Chapter IX. 1851.

He was greatly delighted at the prospect of spending the hot weather at Mussoorie, and the preceding cold weather in visiting Agra and Delhi.

# CHAPTER X.

## THE BAPTISM.

Chapter X. 1852-54.

THE camp of the young Sikh Maharajah was an object of great interest, both to Europeans and natives, at the various stations it passed through. It formed, in effect, a very pretty picture, with its red-and-white striped tents pitched in the form of a quadrangle, and its tent-poles, encased in silver, glittering in the sun. The two largest tents, intended for the use of His Highness and his Governor, stood opposite to one another, and were connected by wide *semianas*, or awnings, forming a favourite lounging-place for the occupants during the hot hours of the day. There was a double set of these tents, which made "marching" an altogether luxurious mode of proceeding. The party were enabled, by this means, to start in the morning, leaving the one set in which they had passed the night still standing on the ground, while after a pleasant ride of nine or ten miles they found a duplicate encampment all ready for them, with breakfast prepared, and awaiting their arrival.

The favourite occupation in the afternoon, in camp,

was to inspect the horses, and see them groomed and fed; to walk down the lines where they all stood in perfect order, picketed with head-and-heel ropes, and to feed them with pieces of sugar-cane provided for the purpose, which they looked for with the greatest eagerness. Chapter X. 1852-54.

The elephants, too, had to receive a visit, and be offered biscuits and lumps of sugar. One of these animals was particularly docile, and constantly to be found acting nurse to its *mahout's* baby, which lay asleep between its huge fore-feet. It was curious to watch the great beast gently fanning the child, and brushing away the flies from its face with a branch it had broken off the nearest tree, and which it held with its trunk; while with its funny little eyes it meantime kept a sharp look-out on the fast accumulating pile of enormous *chupatties*, which the child's parents were engaged in baking, and which it knew well were destined for its own supper. Sometimes, if wakeful and lively, the baby would crawl away a little distance from its guardian, but the latter—aware that its allowance of *chupatties* depended on its attention to its duties as nursery-maid—would never allow the little one to get beyond reach, but lifted it back to its former position with its trunk in the gentlest manner possible.

A fine flock of goats which accompanied the camp, and were brought up to the tents night and morning to be milked, were a great attraction to the boys, and

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were especial pets of Tommy Scott, who liked nothing better than to get his companions to go with him exploring the villages adjacent to the encampment, in search of handsome specimens to add to the number. By the time the march was over, this flock had consequently attained considerable proportions.

The villagers showed great eagerness to see the Sikh Maharajah, but were always perfectly civil and respectful. Beggars were kept at a distance, but as it was only right that the poor of the districts through which he passed should benefit, a sum of money was sent, in the Maharajah's name, to the civil magistrate, or other authority, for distribution among deserving cases.

The number of followers with even a small camp is astonishing, as each hanger-on is accompanied by his whole family. The encampment, therefore, presented a lively, bustling aspect in the evenings, when all were assembled round the various camp-fires, chattering and cooking the last meal, before rolling themselves up for the night.

One evening, after dark, a tremendous uproar was heard in camp, and every one rushed out to see what was the matter. The word was passed from mouth to mouth that a grass-cutter's child had just been carried off by a wolf out of its mother's arms! Parties were sent in all directions, and a strict search made all night, with no result; but at day-dawn, in a neighbouring gully, the skull of the child was found—picked clean!

The mother had been sitting at the fire baking *chupatties*, with the infant in her lap, when the wolf, taking advantage of the darkness, came up behind her, put his head over her shoulder, and seized the infant. It was only the shriek of her opposite neighbour, who saw the deed, that told her what had happened.

Next day it was pitiful to see the poor mother trudging along, as before, among her companions, with all her household goods on her head, but *without* the child, whom she had been wont to carry also, seated astride on her hip.

For some time after this incident there were perpetual wolf-scares in the encampment; on one occasion the whole camp was upset in the middle of the night by Mrs. Login's English nurse, who declared positively that the Maharajah and Shahzadah had been eaten up in their beds by a *pack of wolves*, for she had seen several looking out of the door of their tent, and licking their lips! It was some little time before the wolves in question were identified as a *pack of greyhounds* belonging to His Highness, which he, in his eagerness to go out coursing early the next morning, had privately ordered to be brought before dawn into the outer division of his tent. Seen in the faint light, under the circumstances, the woman's mistake might be excused.

The Maharajah made a great many purchases from the Delhi jewellers, who brought their tempting wares

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to the camp, and not caring to part with his treasures to the care of the Toshkhana that evening, he begged Mrs. Login to keep them for him till morning. She felt rather nervous at the charge, as some of the rings, &c., were of considerable value; but, knowing that the sentries were very alert, she agreed, and placed the articles in her dressing-case, which she put under her *charpoy*. Before getting into bed, she unfastened the long chain of her little black-and-tan terrier from the leg of the *charpoy*, and passed it through the strap of her dressing-case. She was awakened by a succession of noises—violent barking, shouts, musket shots, and a sudden yell, followed by a great commotion! Her first thought was for the dressing-case—it was gone! but there stood the dog, frantic with rage, tugging furiously at one end of his chain, the other being in some mysterious manner passed out under the tent, outside which the box lay safe on the ground. She soon knew that a robbery had been attempted, but the thief had been foiled, and had made his escape, after dropping his prize on discovering its unexpected pendant! He had effected his noiseless entrance by crawling under the tightly pegged tent; the faint light burning showed him the dressing-case, but *not* the small dog coiled at a distance from it. He had a very narrow escape, for, on rising to his feet, outside the tent, he fell over a servant sleeping there, who made a grasp at him; but the miscreant had so plentifully anointed his naked body with oil, that he slipped through

the hands of the other like a fish. He did not, however, escape unscathed, for drops of blood for some distance on the ground showed that the sentry's shot had wounded him.

At Agra, the Maharajah was the guest of Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. As His Highness was travelling privately, by his own request, no salutes were fired, but every attention was paid him by the chief military and civil authorities. Here he paid a visit to the Taj and the Fort, but took most interest in the electric telegraph, and the printing and type foundry at Secundra, five miles from Agra, which he visited twice. A breakfast was given in his honour by the English community *in the Taj* itself!

The rich jewellers' shops in Delhi were a great attraction to Duleep Singh, far more so even than the Jumna Musjid, or the Palace of the Moguls. He was but a boy after all, and took more delight in the divers at the great tank than in any historical building, however magnificent.

Meerut and Roorkee, the head-quarters of the Ganges Canal Works, under Proby Cautley, were reached in due time; here Tom Login took him, for the first time, on a railroad down to the works.

Being anxious to have a peep at the famed Hurdwar, sacred to all Hindoos, arrangements were made for his doing so *incognito*, the number of devotees from the Punjab, and of pilgrims from all parts, being so great that

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the authorities feared a demonstration. The carriages and escort were, therefore, sent in one direction, as a decoy to the multitude, while the Maharajah made a hurried visit to the Ghâts on an elephant. He was only recognized, when leaving, by a crowd of his former subjects, who surrounded his elephant, hailing him with enthusiasm.

Heavy rains having now set in, a rapid march was made to Deyra Dhoon, where he encamped for some time before proceeding up to Mussoorie, his escort remaining below at Deyra, the "lines" of the Governor-General's bodyguard there being made over to them.

As the object of Duleep Singh's temporary residence in the hills was to enable him to pursue his studies more effectually, Login did not consider it advisable that he should have his mind distracted by the gaieties usually going on there. He therefore turned a deaf ear to the numerous applications for aid in getting up races, theatricals, balls, &c. . . . . But feeling it right to do all he could for the social enjoyment and pleasure of the community, he endeavoured to promote pleasant out-door meetings, such as picnics, cricket matches, and archery meetings, by giving handsome prizes on the latter occasions, providing a good band to play on the Mall, giving frequent musical parties, prizes to the boys' school, getting up a museum of natural history, &c.; during the second visit of His Highness to Mussoorie, he also arranged a series of twenty lectures

on various subjects,* to be given by qualified lecturers (many of them officers in the service). The small fee for each (fifty rupees), given by His Highness, was almost invariably applied by the lecturer to some useful object, such as enlargement of the church, library, or dispensary, thus benefiting the station generally. These lectures were much enjoyed by Duleep Singh.

At one of the picnics given at a favourite spring near Mussoorie the cloth was spread on the only piece of level ground on the face of the *khud*, but it did not lie very smooth, as the grass beneath was rough and tussocky. When the guests were seating themselves, and joking over the inequalities of their board, sudden consternation was excited by a wriggling motion under the cloth,—"*Samph! Samph!*" † shouted the natives, and a stampede took place. Then ensued a furious attack on the table-cloth and dishes, with walking-sticks and *latties* borrowed from the *jampanees;* when a full-grown cobra made its appearance from under the cloth, hissing furiously in a last effort to raise its head to strike. At this moment, a well-directed

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* List of Lectures:—

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| Astronomy (3). | Chemistry. |
| Fine Arts. | Electricity. |
| Meteorology. | Ancient History of India. |
| Natural Philosophy. | Zoology of Himalayas. |
| Natural History. | Peculiarities of English Language. |
| Natural Theology. | Literature of the Present Day. |
| Habits of Bees. | Botany. |
| Comets. | |

† Snake.

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blow from Bhajun Lal broke its neck. Suspended in triumph from the branch of a tree, it was found to measure many feet in length, and was an object of great curiosity and awe to the children of the party!

The snake had been fast asleep in one of the hollows of the ground, and was only awakened to a sense of his novel position by the sound of voices, and by a large salad-bowl being suddenly deposited on his head! It said a good deal for the nerves of the ladies that they were persuaded to sit down again, and lunch on what could be collected of the feast from the *débris;* but the meal did not lack gaiety, for all reserve and formality had been put to flight. Duleep Singh and his companions, proud of their own prowess, made a great parade of their *latties,* which they kept in their hands ready for future emergencies.

*Correspondence between the* GOVERNOR-GENERAL *and* J. S. LOGIN.

MUSSOORIE, *May* 10*th*, 1852.

MY LORD,

At the request of His Highness, I beg to forward the enclosed note. I am happy to say that the Maharajah's portrait has at last been finished by Mr. Beechey, and that it has been despatched to Calcutta; your Lordship will, I hope, be able to gratify His Highness's wish to possess your portrait, when a favourable opportunity occurs.

I am glad to say that the Maharajah continues to enjoy his residence in the hills greatly. I have availed myself of the opportunity of getting a drawing-master and music-master to give

him lessons, and he really makes good progress. He now speaks English with fluency, and much more correctly, and with better pronunciation, than natives of Central India generally. He takes great pleasure in the society of English boys, of whom a few come every Saturday from Mr. Maddock's school to join him at play, and I have also been able to secure him constant companions in the two sons of Major Boileau, of the Artillery, who come to study Urdu with him. They have just arrived from England; and as they are very intelligent lads of fifteen and sixteen, who appear to have been carefully educated, and are very diligent and attentive to their Urdu studies, I have little doubt that their example will be in every way beneficial to His Highness. Chapter X. 1852-54.

From all that I have seen of the Maharajah's disposition, I am the more satisfied as to the great advantage and stimulus of example in his case. His disposition is naturally indolent, and nothing but his strong good sense, and his desire to be on an equality in knowledge and accomplishments with lads of his own age, enables him to overcome the natural slothfulness of his character. It is on this account that I am so anxious that he should be permitted to visit England, as he so earnestly desires it, while he is young, and while he can have an opportunity of mixing with lads of his own age, and incur less risk of being spoiled by too great attention.

As His Highness's residence is at some distance from Mussoorie, he lives as quiet and retired a life as he did at Futtehghur, enjoying, however, all the advantages of the delightful climate, and the active out-door exercise which it enables him to take. I have been able to clear a sufficient level space for a playground on the Manor House estate, so as to admit of his playing cricket, in which he takes great delight. Having overcome the difficulty of reading English, he now takes much more pleasure in his lessons, and makes greater progress. On the subject of his desire to be educated as a Christian, his determination continues

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unchanged, and his progress in religious knowledge is fully as great as that of most Christian boys of his age.

As the distance at which His Highness resides from Mussoorie prevents the regular attendance of a clergyman, his religious instruction is almost entirely conducted by Mr. Guise; but I am in hopes that the Rev. Mr. Dawson, of Landour, may also be able to visit him during his stay here. After we left Futtehghur, the Maharajah regularly joined us at table, and now takes his meals with Mr. Guise and Master Scott, occasionally inviting Major Boileau's sons and some of Mr. Maddock's pupils, and sometimes coming over to our bungalow, at a short distance, to dine with us. He generally eats the Punjabi dishes to which he has been accustomed, but he is evidently acquiring the taste of an English boy with great rapidity.* With respect to the Shahzadah, I am glad to give a good report. Ever since he came under my charge I have observed a certain degree of distrust in his manner, and high ideas of his rank and importance. These had been rather increased than diminished since the Maharajah expressed his determination to be educated as a Christian; and it was pretty evident that these ideas were encouraged, if not by his mother (who is really, I believe, very well-meaning and thoroughly respectable), at least by her attendants. I hailed, therefore, the opportunity of the Maharajah's temporary residence on the hills to separate the boy for a time from such influences. The manner in which the poor little fellow had from his infancy been brought up, separated from all companions of his own age, and taught to consider all around him at Lahore as his enemies, was of itself sufficient to account for much of the distrust and selfishness apparent in his character; and as these feelings, if permitted to gain strength, would, under his peculiar

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* The Maharajah has never tasted wine in any form, and from his recollection of the effects of intoxication on his uncle, Jowahir Singh, he appears to entertain a dread of being habituated to its use.—J. S. L.

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circumstances and position, cause him much unhappiness as a man, and perhaps be productive of other inconveniences, I considered it of great importance to eradicate them if I could. To effect this, I have taken a step which I trust your Lordship will approve, and which, so far as I can judge from a short trial, is likely to be successful. Chapter X. 1852-54.

As it seemed desirable that young Tommy Scott should have the benefit of regular school work and emulation, while at Mussoorie, I determined to allow the Shahzadah also to go for a few hours daily, not only to enjoy the benefit of Mr. Maddock's excellent tuition, and to allow Mr. Guise more time to devote to the Maharajah, but also to become acquainted with boys of his own age, and to join in their sports and amusements.

As the boys are all sons of gentlemen in the service, and are carefully looked after by Mr. Maddock, the Shahzadah's ideas of his dignity have not received too rude a shock on being sent to school, while the natural feeling of equality on which boys of that age meet on the playground are likely, I think, to have a wholesome effect upon him. Mr. Maddock has kindly entered into my views with respect to the boy, and is careful to prevent any undue deference being shown to him on account of his rank; and as the hours at which he attends are not those when religious instruction is given, any objections on that point are obviated. The little fellow appears to like the arrangement very much; he makes good progress with his work, enjoys the society of his schoolfellows, and joins in their amusements with great delight.

I may add, that I am more than ever careful to avoid any appearance of restraint in his religious observances, and that he and his people are not in any way interfered with in this respect; but, on the contrary, every care is taken to avoid offence to their prejudices in any way. It is curious that the priests have never taken any trouble to make the boy a Sikh, by administering the *Pahul* to him, by which alone he could become a Sikh. The Ranee has lost caste by marrying a Sikh, and her people do not

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eat with her in consequence; nor do they eat with the Shahzadah —the son of a Sikh.

I feel sure this absence from his mother will do the boy good; he is getting older, and will gain self-reliance. By the time he sees her again they will probably have been separated ten months.

I have, &c.,

J. S. L.

The Most Noble the MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *June 7th*, 1852.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

All that you are doing in regard to the Maharajah seems to be very judicious, and considering birth and early habits, I think you have very good reason to be satisfied with his progress, and with the results of your care of him in all respects. If you could only keep down his fat! But there you don't set the best of examples!

I see no objection to the line you have taken with the Shahzadah; quite the contrary. It is calculated to do him great good, if directed with tact. So far your trip to the hills has been very successful. Your friend Fraser* has not only turned up a trump, but the ace of trumps. He has gained great distinction in Burmah, and will, I have no doubt, achieve more if he has the chance.

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

* Colonel Hugh Fraser, Bengal Engineers; afterwards in military command of the fort at Agra, when besieged by the mutineers in 1857.

LORD DALHOUSIE *to the* MAHARAJAH.

*(On the receipt of the portrait of His Highness.)*

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *July 17th*, 1852.

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At last, after a long delay upon the river, your Highness's portrait has arrived. It is in excellent condition, not at all injured by the weather. It is very like you, and does great credit to Mr. Beechey as an artist. Your Highness has done me really a great favour in offering to me this likeness of yourself. If it please God that I should live till I am old, I shall look upon it with strong feelings long after my connection with this country shall have been dissolved, and always with a renewal of the interest which I feel in yourself, and in everything belonging to your fate and fortunes. You have gratified me, too, by asking for my portrait in return. I shall have great pleasure in sending one to you as soon as I can get one worthy of your acceptance. But Mr. Beechey, I fear, won't come to Calcutta, and there is no good artist here.

On Monday I start for Rangoon, to make arrangements for the war. As I hate the sea and everything belonging to it, and as the weather will be very bad, I do not look forward with pleasure to the voyage.

Your Highness will have heard that many of your countrymen have volunteered to go to Burmah, and I greatly hope they will have an opportunity of meeting the Burmese, and of giving them a lesson, which they are very well able to do.

I beg you to believe me, my dear Maharajah,

Your Highness's sincere and faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

To His Highness the MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

Chapter X. 1852-54.

Finding the companionship of Major Boileau's sons most beneficial to the Maharajah, Login proposed that they should accompany him to Futtehghur, and pursue their studies under Mr. Guise, undertaking to defray all their expenses until they were old enough to enter Roorkee College. He had found the experiment of allowing the Shahzadah to mix with English boys most successful, the only difficulty now experienced being to get him away from the playground!

LORD DALHOUSIE *to the* MAHARAJAH.

(*On the receipt of a pencil sketch forwarded by Dr. Login.*)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Sept. 24th*, 1852.

The drawing which your Highness was so good as to send to Lady Dalhousie shall be given to her as soon as she returns from Ceylon, where she has been obliged to pass the hot season from ill-health. She will, I am sure, be much pleased by your Highness's attention to her.

The drawing itself shows a progress most creditable to you. I cannot advise you too strongly to cultivate the art; it will be a resource to you in many various forms, both in the house and out of doors.

When I was a boy, like yourself, I foolishly neglected the opportunities I had of acquiring it, and a thousand times since have I regretted it when I desired to possess a sketch of some scene which I admired among the many beautiful and the many famous places I have visited, and which, if I could have used my pencil, I might have preserved by the labour of half an hour.

I am so rejoiced to hear from Dr. Login that you have enjoyed your stay at Mussoorie, and that you are really getting on with English, though not quite so well with other studies. Pray persevere—you have a great deal to learn yet before you can be considered a well-instructed gentleman, and nothing but perseverance will do it. Chapter X. 1852-54.

Your interest in the conduct of your countryman is very pleasing to me. Their volunteering for Burmah gave me great satisfaction, and I have been glad to reward them for it by allowing two regiments, the 4th Sikh Local Regiment and the Loodiana Regiment, to go to Burmah. The first goes immediately. I have perfect confidence in them. The British never had braver enemies than your countrymen, and I am confident that they will show the same bravery now that they fight upon our side.

Shere Singh Attareewallah, who is now confined in Fort William, was very anxious to go also. I would not permit him to do so. He was an unfaithful and bad servant to your Highness, as well as a faithless friend to the British Government, and I would, therefore, not allow him to have the honour of taking part in a war on our behalf.

In the hope of hearing again from your Highness by-and-bye,

I beg to assure you that I am always

Your Highness's sincere and faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

To His Highness the MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

LORD DALHOUSIE *to* DR. LOGIN.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Sept. 24th*, 1852.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the ninth, enclosing one from the Maharajah, to which I now send a reply.

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The sketch is really nicely done, and if it was, as you say, *not* doctored by the master, it does him great credit. All you say of his progress, and of the Shahzadah, is more favourable than could be looked for. If you cannot make the Maharajah industrious or learned, you will, at all events, have given him the means of finding interests and occupations for himself, if he chooses to have recourse to them.

I am an advocate for his going to England, and shall do my best to persuade the Court to it; and if it should help to a marriage between him and little Coorg, I shall be very glad, for it will reconcile much which would otherwise be a considerable perplexity both in her case and his. I would not renew the overtures for marriage just at present, because it might look as if he had been moved to it by the notice taken of her in England. The Rajah will return in a few months, and you can then propose it to the Government, if the Maharajah wishes to re-open negociations.

I have been greatly disgusted with the notoriety they have given to this man in England, though I had carefully provided against it here, and had warned them on the subject. It has been calculated only to turn the girl's head, and his too, for he will now be more convinced than ever of his accomplishing his object of marrying her to an English nobleman. Whether he would prefer a Maharajah *pucka* to a nobleman in prospect, I don't know! nor do I feel sure that the Maharajah would do well to arrange any marriage until he has seen the young lady; for, as he is a Christian, and can't get Ranees in duplicate, he may as well see how he likes her first! The little heathen sister, whom Jung Bahadoor took away with him to Nepal, was really very pretty. The orthodox one was not nearly so good-looking!

Consider these points, and let me know what you think.

You are aware that I have been most anxious that there should be no fuss or display connected with Duleep's profession of

Christianity, in order that I might feel satisfied in my conscience that the boy had not been, unintentionally by us, or unconsciously to himself, led into the act by any other motives than that of conviction of the truth. To that end your management of the matter has been most judicious and highly satisfactory to me. I should wish that course steadily pursued. I consider that the Coorg christening in St. James's Chapel, with royal godfather and godmothers, and the name of Victoria given her, has been a great mistake, calculated to make the child regard a sacrament as a Court pageant, and to lead all the world to believe (as I verily believe myself) that the father's motive was not so much that his child should be an "heir of salvation," as that she should be a god-daughter of Queen Victoria! I do not think I am uncharitable in concluding that the man could have no higher motive who, while he was leading with one hand his elder child to Christianity, gave over the younger with the other to Hinduism and Jung Bahadoor! Let us avoid all such reproach. If Duleep is to go to England, let him be quietly baptized before he goes, and by his own name of Duleep Singh. Indeed, I am prepared to advise his being baptized now, as soon as his minister can declare that he is sufficiently instructed, and is willing to receive the rite. If he is sufficiently instructed, and is willing to be baptized at all, he is quite old enough to take the obligations directly upon himself, and to be baptized without the intervention of godfathers and godmother.

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Dr. Carshore goes to Jhelum. He is to be succeeded by Mr. Jay, whom I have never seen, but whom I understand to be a learned, gentle, and pious man.

I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject after your return to Futtehghur. There will be no objections to the Maharajah being accompanied by his young companions.

I am in a difficulty about my portrait for Duleep. There is nobody here who can paint a good one. Mr. Beechey can't be got, and I should not like to send a bad one. Do you think the

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Maharajah would be disappointed by my delaying, in order to get a good artist, either here or in England?

I am, very truly yours,

DALHOUSIE.

Login wrote Lord Dalhousie, telling him that the Maharajah had begun regularly to attend church, very quietly, and without any attendance beyond Bhajun Lal, who at his own desire accompanied him.

I am fully satisfied that the Maharajah's knowledge of Christian truth, and the sincerity of his convictions are such as to qualify him for baptism, whenever it is thought expedient; and I intend, during the visit of Archdeacon Pratt to us next week, to ask his opinion, after he has had some opportunities of conversing freely with the boy.

If the Court give permission for the Maharajah to visit England, it would be a great advantage to him that it should be *after* your Lordship had gone home, so as to have the benefit of your advice as to the manner in which he should be received, and to prevent him from being brought forward prominently until his education is further advanced, and he is enabled to take his place in society in a manner which will be creditable to himself and all connected with him.

LORD DALHOUSIE *to* DR. LOGIN.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Oct. 15th*, 1852.

DEAR LOGIN,

Just a line to say that I know no reason why the Maharajah should not go to church when he wishes it, and every reason why he should, his mind being made up.

I quite approve of all you are doing.

In haste, yours very truly,

DR. LOGIN. DALHOUSIE.

The cold weather was pleasantly passed on the march back to Futtehghur. By this time Duleep Singh had acquired a taste for shooting and coursing, and spent almost every morning riding and walking after game, with his two friends Frank and Charles Boileau, attended by Thornton, his English servant; of course, an escort of troopers were within easy hail. Seven or eight miles on foot was thought little of by the young sportsmen.

At Meerut, His Highness was received by Sir Joseph Thackwell, who was in command; at Seharunpore, by Mr. Philip Trench, C.S., who invited the ladies and gentlemen of the station to meet His Highness at dinner. The same attention was paid by Mr. Blunt at Allyghur. Everyone remarked the great improvement in Duleep Singh's manner and bearing since he passed up the year before.

His love for music had developed greatly and as he brought his music master, Mr. Hunter, with him for the cold season, while he was not needed by his pupils in the hills, he worked very hard with him for some part of the day, amusing himself with his band of an evening.

Having undergone a probation of two years, the Maharajah himself now expressed his strong desire to be received into the Christian Church by baptism.

FUTTEHGHUR, *Feb.* 10*th*, 1853.
(*Anniversary of Sobraon*).

MY LORD,

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The communications which I have from time to time made to your Lordship regarding the Maharajah's progress in religious knowledge will have prepared you to receive the expression of his desire to be baptized. The enclosed letter, which he has requested me to forward to your Lordship, conveys the sentiments of his mind on the occasion.

From the marked consistency of his conduct and character during the last two years, and the earnestness with which he applies himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures, in contrast to his general application to his other studies, I have every reason to think that his heart is deeply interested, and that he desires to make an open profession of his faith in a right spirit.

The importance of the step he is about to take has been most carefully impressed upon his mind, and he is fully aware of the duties to which his baptismal vows will bind him.

In the event of your Lordship's sanction being obtained to his public profession of his belief, the Maharajah is anxious that he should be baptized by the Rev. Mr. Jay before he returns to Mussoorie. As the church here is still under repair, and not likely to be finished for six months, the ceremony may perhaps with every propriety take place in his own house, in the presence of such witnesses as your Lordship may approve. I am sure that Messrs. Buller and Cuninghame, the judge and the magistrate of the district, Colonel Alexander, Major Tucker, or other of the gentleman residents at the station, will very readily be present on the occasion; or, if it be considered desirable, I could ask the Commissioner, Mr. Tyler, or Mr. William Muir, the Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, who are not very far distant from us.

While taking every care that the ceremony should lose nothing of its impressiveness and solemnity, I need not say how much I coincide in the wish expressed by your Lordship that, when it

does take place, every ostentatious display should be avoided. This has hitherto been carefully observed in all that has related to the Maharajah's instruction in religious truth, and I do sincerely hope that the substance, rather than the form, has been impressed upon his mind. Chapter X. 1852-54.

Although His Highness had, about three weeks since, expressed his desire to be baptized, and Mr. Jay had written to me proposing that he should obtain the requisite sanction of the Bishop for the performance of the ceremony, I thought it better not to take any steps in the matter until the Maharajah should himself express his wish to me on the subject, on receipt of which I immediately wrote to Mr. Jay. . . . . As, in the event of your Lordship's sanction to the Maharajah's baptism, it will be necessary that Mr. Jay obtain the sanction of the Bishop, it may save some delay in reference, if the Lord Bishop could be requested by your Lordship to communicate with Mr. Jay for that purpose.

The Maharajah has taken very great interest in reading the Holy Scriptures with Mr. Jay, and that gentleman has been equally gratified with the attention and earnestness with which His Highness has received his instruction. . . . .

I remain, &c.

J. S. Login.

Enclosed with the above, were the following notes:—

*Feb. 8th*, 1853.

My dear good Friend,

I think I now sufficiently understand the Christian religion, and the duties to which it binds me, and have a strong desire to be baptized, which I trust, therefore, I may be considered fit for.

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

Duleep Singh.

MY DEAR MR. JAY,

Chapter X. 1852-54. The Maharajah having addressed a note to me to-day expressing his strong desire for baptism, I am anxious to ascertain from you whether, from the opportunities which you have had of conversing with him on religious subjects, you consider him to be sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of Divine truth, and sufficiently impressed with the importance of the vows he wishes to take upon himself, to justify you in admitting him to that Holy Sacrament.

I am, my dear Mr. Jay,

. . . Yours very truly,

J. S. L.

MY DEAR DR. LOGIN,

I think the Maharajah has quite sufficient head knowledge of the truths of our holy religion to justify his receiving the sacrament of baptism. How far his heart is touched, you have better opportunities than I, a comparative stranger, have had of judging. I have gone through the Gospel of St. Matthew with him carefully, and I never spent any time with greater pleasure and satisfaction. The young Maharajah was uniformly careful, attentive, and earnest.

Yours very truly,

W. J. JAY,

*Chaplain of Futtehghur.*

*From* ARCHDEACON PRATT'S *Memorandum to the* BISHOP.

I have been much pleased with my interviews with the Maharajah. He seems fully aware of the responsibility of the step he wishes to take, and that his conduct will be scrutinized when he becomes a Christian. I asked him many questions, which he

answered very clearly and fully. He made correct statements on the doctrine of the Trinity, the Person of Our Lord, His Two Natures, His offices of Prophet, Priest, and King, which he explained. Altogether, I was much pleased, and feel persuaded that a gracious work is going on in his heart. I do not see why he should not be baptized, if he wishes to be. He shows considerable thought and seriousness and good sense, far beyond his years, and with it all (what one is not sorry to see) his boyhood and simplicity are not lost.

Login adds :—

I am sure that Mr. Guise, and all who have been intimately associated with him, will join me in willing testimony to his truthfulness and rectitude of conduct, and to the great improvement that has been apparent in many ways during this trial of probation, now more than two years.

To this communication Lord Dalhousie replied as follows :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Feb. 15th*, 1853.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have communicated with my colleagues, who concur with me in readily acceding to the Maharajah's wish, that he may receive the rite of baptism at once.* I have written to the Bishop to address Mr. Jay. The station church being under repair, His Highness's own house would be the best place for the performance of the rite. I desire no secrecy, but at the same time deprecate notoriety and all approach to a *tumasha*.

* The official permission of the Governor-General in Council followed this.

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Don't bring people from a distance. Invite, if you please to do so, the principal persons of the station; but only those who will regard the occasion as a solemn administration of a Holy Sacrament, and not a common festivity.

Probably it will not be necessary to give a name at all, but if requisite, let it be his own name, "Duleep Singh."

I pray God to bless this act to his eternal good.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

DR. LOGIN.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Feb. 15th*, 1853.

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

I have received with the most lively satisfaction the letter in which you express your desire to be at once baptized, and to be admitted a member of the Church of Christ. When you first showed an inclination to believe in the truths which you found declared in the Word of God, I advised you not to act hastily, to continue your study of the Bible, and to test by time the strength and sincerity of your belief.

You have followed my advice, and I have learnt with real pleasure from the statements of the Archdeacon and Mr. Jay that they have found you quite fit to receive the baptism you desire to obtain. I, on my part, most readily assent to your wish, and I thank the God and Saviour of us all, who has put into your heart a knowledge of, and belief in, the truth of our holy religion.

I earnestly hope that your future life may be in conformity with the precepts of that religion, and that you may show to your countrymen in India an example of a pure and blameless life, such as is befitting a Christian prince.

I beg your Highness to believe in the strength and sincerity of the regard which I shall ever feel towards you, and to remain, now and always,



Your Highness's sincere and affectionate friend,

DALHOUSIE.

His Highness MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *March 16th*, 1853.

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

I have received, with the liveliest satisfaction, the letter which you wrote to me on the 8th inst., announcing to me that the rite of baptism had been administered to you, and that you had been admitted into the Church of Christ.

I rejoice in the opportunity it affords me of again offering you the assurance of my affectionate interest in your welfare, and of my most earnest wishes for your happiness, both in this world and in that which is to come.

I beg your Highness to believe me,

Your sincere and faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

His Highness MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

FUTTEHGHUR, *March 8th*, 1853.

MY LORD,

It now gives me sincere pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that the Maharajah was this day admitted into the Christian Church by baptism, and took the vows upon him in a most solemn and impressive manner.

The ceremony took place in His Highness's private dwelling-house, in presence of about twenty of the European residents of

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the station, and nearly an equal number of the Maharajah's principal native servants whom I had invited to attend.

The truly simple and earnest manner in which the service was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Jay, and joined in by all the Christians present, commanded the reverent attention of all who witnessed it, and, I hope, left a deep impression of its solemnity on many minds. . . . . I forward a copy of the entry made in the baptismal register at Futtehghur.

Mr. Jay considered it necessary that the names of three persons (of whom one should be a lady) should be entered as witnesses to the baptism, and Colonel Alexander and Mrs. Login were proposed in addition to myself; but with Mr. Jay's consent, I also asked Mr. Guise to sign the register.

The native names on the register have been spelt as the Maharajah pointed out. . . . .

I may add that everything approaching to display, or unbefitting the solemnity of the occasion, has been most carefully avoided in every respect.

I remain, &c.,

J. S. Login.

The ceremony was felt, by those privileged to be present, to be touching as well as impressive; the earnest expression on the young boy's face, the look, half sad, half curious, on the countenances of his people, who were all witnesses of the rite by their own wish, combined to make it so.

It occurred to Mrs. Login, at the last moment, that, bearing in mind the veneration in which all Hindoos hold the River Ganges, there would be peculiar appropriateness in using its water for the sacred rite,

thereby sanctifying it in the Maharajah's mind, from henceforth, with a new and holier association. Jewindah, the favourite Sikh attendant of Duleep Singh, begged to be allowed to fetch the water himself for this purpose from the river, and ran off with his brass *lotah*, evidently regarding the proposition with favour, as a concession to Hindoo prejudices.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *March 16th*, 1853.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have had the pleasure to receive yours of 8th, enclosing one from the Maharajah.

I rejoice deeply and sincerely in this good issue to the great change the boy has passed through, with so much satisfactory evidence of the reality and genuineness of his convictions.

I regard it as a very remarkable event in history, and in every way gratifying.

Let me add that, under circumstances of peculiarity, of great delicacy, and of great difficulty, I have been most highly satisfied with the judgment and discretion, the prudence and kindly tact, which have been exhibited by yourself through them all.

Believe me to be, my dear Login,

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

DR. LOGIN.

MUSSOORIE, *June 2nd*, 1853.

MY LORD,

It gives me particular pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that, ever since his baptism, the Maharajah has continued, by his conduct and character, to afford very satisfactory evidence of the

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influence of Christian principles on his heart, and I trust, as his years increase, they may continue to gain strength, and preserve him from the many dangers and temptations to which he must necessarily be exposed in the position he has to occupy. He is fully aware of the responsibilities which his profession of Christianity imposes on him, and of the effect which his example may have upon others of his countrymen, either for good or evil, and I believe he is honestly anxious to use this influence aright.* He is going on with his education with more energy than heretofore. His progress in music is rapid, and he takes great delight in it. He performs really creditably on the flute and cornopean, and, with his music-master's assistance, has got up a very good band of eight or nine men. It is a great amusement to him, and it is an incentive to study, as he pays the expenses out of his pocket-money. This band is a great pleasure to the community at Mussoorie, as they play on the Mall on stated evenings, where their appearance is hailed with delight.

I have been successful in getting up a course of lectures during the season, which have already been well attended. Many gentlemen have been induced to offer their services as lecturers, and I have got a course of them on various subjects, arranged to fill up six months; the three first, by Mr. Mackinnon, on "Astronomy," were excellent—pronounced so by some of the best astronomers in India, who were among the audience.

I have already expressed to your Lordship my anxiety that the Maharâjah should not become a mere State pensioner, but that he

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* Numerous letters were received by the Maharajah, congratulating him on his baptism, and giving him cordial welcome from many eminent Christians, both European and native. Some of them were very touching. Amongst others who wrote to him were—

Rev. Krishna Banerjee.
Rev. Gopy Nanth Nundy.
Ganendro Mohun Tagore.
Bishop Wilson.
Mr. Thomason.
Sir Henry Lawrence.
Sir Frederick Currie.

should be led to take an interest in all that concerns the welfare of the natives around him, and the progress in improvement of his neighbourhood; and if such was my wish before he became a Christian, I need not say how much my anxiety has been increased by that event. This is not likely to be fully developed unless he has some estate in the country to which his attention could be applied. I would, therefore, respectfully beg your Lordship's consideration to the propriety of giving him a grant of land on the occasion of his coming of age, of such extent, and on such conditions, as may appear suitable to his position and circumstances. Should His Highness's home be fixed in India, a part of the Eastern Dhoon would appear most suitable, as he is sure to pass the hot season here. The Dhoon is not looked upon as profitable, but I think it might be made so.



The two young Boileaus have passed with great credit in Urdu and Hindu, and are qualified for the army. Their father has, I fear, little chance of getting appointments for them; and as I feel that the Maharajah has gained much by their companionship, I am anxious to help them, and if your Lordship sees no impropriety in the Maharajah asking Lord Hardinge for a commission for the eldest, he will gladly do so.

I have the honour, &c.,

J. S. L.

Sir Frederick Currie, before leaving India, wrote the Maharajah as follows :—

CALCUTTA, *April 11th*, 1853.

MAHARAJAH,

I wish to write to your Highness before leaving India to offer you my warm congratulations on the important event which has just been communicated to the Government by

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your friend, Dr. Login, viz., your Highness's admission into the Christian Church by the rite of baptism.

I have long regarded you with very sincere esteem (ever since we first met on that memorable occasion in February, 1846); and those feelings are much enhanced by the contemplation that I can now regard you as a fellow-Christian, animated by the same hopes, cheered by the same promises, and seeking the same consummation of all our objects and desires in life—the love and glory of our common Saviour in time, and His presence in eternity.

I have in no degree lost the interest which I had in your Highness during the eventful year 1848; but I have thought it better, considering our respective positions, and hearing of the feelings which were at work in your heart, and which have led to such a happy result, that I should not write to you.

Any communication between us might have been misrepresented, to your Highness's detriment, both in the Punjab and in Hindostan. But now there is no longer any cause for such reserve; your Highness has taken the irrevocable step, and I am about to leave India by the steamer of the 8th prox., when my connection with the Government will be at an end. I therefore now write these few lines to assure your Highness that I have taken the most lively interest in all that has happened in regard to you since I saw you; that I have read the reports of your progress in knowledge and of the development of your character, sent from time to time by Dr. Login, with high gratification; and that the last reported event above referred to has given me unfeigned joy.

I do not know if there is any possibility of your Highness visiting England, but should you do so during my lifetime, it will give me very great pleasure to renew our acquaintance.

I remain, Maharajah,

Your sincere friend,

F. CURRIE.

His Highness MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

The following is the first letter Login received from Lord Dalhousie after the death of Lady Dalhousie :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Aug. 4th*, 1852.

DEAR LOGIN,

I have to ask your pardon for the long delay which has occurred in replying to the letter I had from you about middle of June. Since that period, though I have not allowed public business to be retarded, I fear I have left many letters unanswered, among them yours. Your account of the Maharajah continues to be as satisfactory as we have any right to expect. Your plans for at once instructing, diverting, and training him as a member of European society are excellent, and can leave on your mind no doubt of your meeting with full co-operation, as far as it depends on me.

With regard to the future, I cannot go quite so entirely with you. We are at one in thinking that he should go to England. It is my opinion, as it is yours, that he should go while he is yet what we should consider a boy. I shall therefore be prepared to ask permission from the Court to let him go next spring, if you consider him ready and desirous, as before, to go. I will not disguise from you that the Court may not give a very gracious assent; the visit of Jung Bahadoor, whom they spoiled, and still more, the present visit of the ex-Rajah of Coorg, whom, in spite of all my precautions and warnings, they have lifted wholly out of his place, making a fool both of him and of themselves thereby, has disgusted the Court and Board of Control with native, and especially with princely, visitors. Still I hope they will agree, and still more, I hope that the Maharajah will not expect pompous receptions, and will rather seek quiet and privacy while he shall remain in England. With respect to the question of a residence at Mussoorie, and also to a grant of land, I conceive that these matters should be postponed until the Maharajah shall have

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returned from England, and until he shall be, at least, of age, which in his case I presume would be eighteen. The grant of the Eastern Dhoon, to which you allude, seems the carving out of a large slice. But, without committing myself to details, I have no difficulty in expressing entire concurrence in your views of making the Maharajah something different from a Delhi or a Lucknow pensioner. It is natural you should wish these points settled by myself, who must needs take a more peculiar interest in the boy than any of my successors can do; but you may be quite sure that he will always be an object of interest to the Governor-General of the time, and I think it would be open to objection if I should attempt to decide upon, and to provide for his future, prematurely.

Believe me to be,

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

DR. LOGIN.

*August*, 1853.

MY LORD,

I have told the Maharajah of your intention to ask permission for him to visit England next spring. . . . .

. . . . In the event of his obtaining the permission, I shall see that he has not a large retinue with him, and will only take to Calcutta those who are to proceed with him. The Maharajah is very anxious not to be separated from Sheo Deo Singh, and, if the little fellow's own feelings were consulted, I think he would not be unwilling. If your Lordship thinks it desirable, I shall endeavour to get his mother's consent.

The Maharajah, and all of us, would regret any circumstance which would lead to any separation between them, for they are

much more attached to each other than they were, and a very kindly feeling now exists between them. Mr. Guise has lately received a very good offer from Mr. Maclean, a large indigo planter near Futtehghur, to take charge of his work during his absence in England, and a share as partner. Up to the present time, I am satisfied that no one could have filled his place with His Highness more perfectly than Mr. Guise has done. Chapter X. 1852-54.

The irregular, self-indulgent manner in which the boy had been brought up, his natural indolence and want of application, and the difficulty of exercising any restraint over him, required an amount of patient endurance and perseverance on the part of a tutor, in bringing him through the rudimentary stages of education, and establishing a desire for instruction, which is very rarely to be met with, and I feel that His Highness owes more to Mr. Guise than he can ever repay. The Maharajah has now, however, reached a stage in his education at which he is more likely to derive benefit from the instruction of professional masters.

In the event of Mr. Guise accepting the offer made him, I think that it would be only proper on His Highness's part to make a handsome acknowledgment of his services in any way your Lordship might think fit. Although this offer is most eligible, Mr. Guise is quite willing to remain with His Highness if it is desired; but in this case, he would naturally look for some permanent employment on his return to India in place of that which he had declined.

In the event of Mr. Guise not accompanying the Maharajah, it would be advisable to retain one or both of the Boileaus as companions for a time, and it might be more possible for me to obtain commissions for them while in England.

It was only in the event of His Highness not going to England that I was anxious to find some interesting and useful employment for him, to occupy his mind and engage his attention.

I have, &c.,

J. S. L.

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The following note from Duleep Singh to Login was enclosed in the above :—

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

As I do not like to attempt a letter to the Governor-General, I hope it will do as well to write to you what I wish to say.

You told me that the Governor-General wishes to know if I am as anxious as before to go to England. I wish to say that I am very anxious to go, and quite ready to start whenever his Lordship gives me permission. I do not want to go to make a show of myself, but to study and complete my education, and I wish to live in England as quietly as possible.

Yours very sincerely,

DULEEP SINGH.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Aug.* 31*st*, 1853.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Tell the Maharajah that it is wholly impossible for me to say *when* he may be allowed to go. It does not rest with me. I have not authority in this case to let him go without reference to the Court in the first instance.

This reference I will make by the very next mail, and I will make known to you the answer as soon as possible.

If he goes, he should go without a "following." In England, as you say, his education will be easily carried on, either by masters or a private tutor. The offer, therefore, which you speak of as made to Mr. Guise, should on no account be set aside by the Maharajah or by the Government, because it would be impossible for either to undertake to compensate Mr. Guise for the advantages

he will have consented to forego at their request. Mr. Guise certainly deserves well of the Maharajah; and if he quits him now, a handsome acknowledgment of his services would, as you suggest, be very fitting, but it should not be in the shape of a pension. . . . . If it is desirable that the Maharajah should have a young companion, as you seem to think, *one* of the lads may accompany him, *not* both—you will find a "tail" in England very troublesome and very costly.

The going of the Shahzadah must depend entirely on whether the Maharajah wishes it, so far as the wishes of his family are concerned at all; but I think the wisdom of his going doubtful, for he is as yet too young to derive any profit for himself; and with respect to the pleasure of the thing, I think the Maharajah would find him a great "taigle" in England. Many people, who would be glad to be civil to His Highness, would not choose to be bothered with a second prince, who has no interest or importance. My present impression is that the little boy should not go, and that some arrangement should be made for him here, by which he would not lose what he has gained, during your absence.

Believe me to be,

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

DR. LOGIN.

*Extracts from some of* LOGIN'S *letters to* LORD DALHOUSIE *from Mussoorie.*

. . . . Mr. Guise has accepted the appointment offered him, and has left to join. At parting, His Highness presented him with a Government promissory note for 5,000 rupees, as a kindly acknowledgment of his services.

. . . . I have thought it right to avail myself of the opportunity afforded me by the return of Mrs. Scott (now a widow) with her

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family to England to allow the young boy, Tom Scott, who has for the last four years been brought up with His Highness and the Shahzadah, to accompany her for the purpose of going to school; but in consideration of the advantages which have resulted to His Highness from the companionship of his young friend at so interesting a period of his life, and the very straitened circumstances of Mrs. Scott, with a family of seven children unprovided for, I trust no objection will be made to an allowance of fifty rupees per mensem being granted for the education of the boy, during the minority of His Highness. Charles Boileau returns to his father at Ferozepore. Thus Frank Boileau will be the only European companion who will accompany His Highness to England.

. . . . Your Lordship's principal objection to the Shahzadah's accompanying his uncle seems to be the possible inconvenience of the arrangement. I think that might be obviated, and the Maharajah suggests many ways of doing so, which shows how much he desires to have him with him. But apart from His Highness's wishes on the subject, I would respectfully point out other considerations. As the Maharajah, by adopting our faith, has deprived himself of almost all political influence among his countrymen, they are now inclined to consider the Shahzadah as the rightful representative of their old rulers, and judging from the boy's natural disposition, it would be advisable to keep him as much with the Maharajah as possible, and accustom him to consider their interests identical. By allowing him to remain in India while His Highness is in England, I fear he will be more encouraged in the idea of his separate importance, and it will be difficult for his pretensions to be kept under control, as easily as while with his uncle and natural head. The ignorant will hold him in estimation for not having crossed the ocean. There will be no difficulty about the retention of his caste, though it will entail additional trouble and arrangements upon me, which I would otherwise escape.

I *can* make arrangements to take two or three Punjabi Brahmins to attend the Maharajah, relatives (and servants) of the Misr Makraj at Lahore, of whose family two or three members still remain attached to His Highness. The old Misr has written to them to say that it is their duty to go, if the Maharajah wishes it, only that they should be careful to keep their caste. If they go with us, there will be no difficulty about the Shahzadah, as regards caste. I am willing to submit to all this trouble, rather than miss the opportunity of opening a way, and showing high-caste Hindoos that it is possible to break through prejudice, and set an example to their countrymen to visit Europe. Chapter X. 1852-54.

The Shahzadah's mother has returned from her home, and will remain here till we leave, when she will go to reside at Hurdwar, where she has a house. She does not like the idea of her son going with the Maharajah, and has sent me a petition to send to your Lordship on the subject. I have told her that as soon as we know that the permission is granted, I will send in her petition against it.

The little boy himself is really not unwilling to go, and has great faith in Mrs. Login being able to persuade his mother to let him go. He has been explaining to her the geography of Europe, showing her the map, and the pictures in the *Illustrated News;* and though, since her arrival, he does not say so much about it as before, his own inclinations are very evident. He has now for the last two years been absent from his mother's influence, for periods of ten and a half and ten months at a time, and seemed to enjoy life thoroughly.

LORD DALHOUSIE *to* J. S. LOGIN.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Nov. 29th*, 1853.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

You give so many good reasons why the Shahzadah should go with His Highness, if he goes to England, that no objection will

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be made by Government. In that case all your arrangements will be approved.

A gift of 5,000 rupees to Mr. Guise is both liberal and proper; and your allowance to Tommy Scott will not be questioned. The order of the Court shall be sent as soon as received. If I go to Burmah I'll tell Mr. Courtney to let you know. I approve of all you propose to do.

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

*Jan.* 31*st*, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have just received the Court's leave for the Maharajah to go to England, and I beg you to deliver the enclosed to him.

I hope he will do me credit, for they have had a sickener of native grandees at home lately.

Yours most sincerely,

DALHOUSIE.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Jan.* 31*st*, 1854.

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

I am very happy to be able to tell you that I have this moment received the permission of the Court of Directors that you should visit England.

In the belief that this intelligence will give you pleasure, I hasten to convey it to you with my own hand.

I have not time to write another word beyond the assurance of the pleasure it will give me to see your Highness again.

I remain, with much respect,

Your sincere and faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

His Highness MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

*Letter from* SIR HENRY LAWRENCE *after the death of his* WIFE. Chapter X. 1852-54.

CAMP, NEAR NEEMUCH, *Feb.* 10*th*, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Best thanks to you both for your kind letters and sympathy. Yes! my heart is a sore one, and hard to bear—God's will be done.

Yes: I will try and go to Roorkee. Napier will probably be there, and I long to meet him; also I want to see Cautley and Mr. Colvin, and also your brother and sister.

I am moving towards Bhurtpore, by way of Kohat and Kerowly. My very kindest regards to Mrs. Login.

Remember me kindly to the Maharajah.

Always, my dear Login,

Yours very sincerely,

H. M. LAWRENCE.

Bhajun Lal up to this time had fully determined to go to England with his master; but his people knew well that if he did so he would take the opportunity of declaring himself a Christian; they were therefore bent on preventing his going. His convictions were very strong; but in his own case he had not the courage to throw off the bondage of Hindooism, though he had certainly helped the Maharajah in his decision with all the energy of which his nature was capable.

When he got back to Futtehghur, to his young

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wife and children, and his father, who was a shrewd *bunniah* * in the city of Furruckabad, he became unable to struggle against the influences brought to bear on him, and matters reached a climax when, on the occasion of his youngest brother's marriage (which was about to be celebrated with all the display and lavish expenditure that rich Hindoos consider incumbent on them on these occasions), he was induced by his father to prefer a request that in the public procession through the city the *sowaree* of His Highness, *i.e.*, the horses, carriages, and elephants, should form a prominent feature, and that the Maharajah's tents, &c., should also be lent in which to celebrate the wedding festivities.

Under ordinary circumstances, Login would have been very pleased to show some such token of the estimation in which both he and the Maharajah held Bhajun Lal's services, and of the respect they would wish to show to a member of his family, It was also, according to native ideas, a very customary mark of favour from a prince or noble to a favourite attendant or companion, such as Bhajun Lal. But as in this case the bridegroom was a mere child, and the bride of equally tender age, Login felt a conscientious objection to appear to give his, or the Maharajah's, public sanction to one of those monstrous child-marriages which bring such misery into the homes of India.

* Native merchant.

Especially he felt that this would be unbecoming on the Maharajah's part, since he had so lately made profession of the Christian faith.

He therefore told Bhajun Lal that he could only grant his request on one of two conditions, viz., either the marriage was deferred, until the bride and bridegroom were of an age to understand the importance of the contract they were about to enter into (in which case, besides the loan of the things asked for, the Maharajah would bestow a sum of money to set the young people up in the world), or else, a bond or agreement should be given to the young girl, to the effect that, in the event of her boy-husband dying while she was still marriageable, she should be permitted to select another partner for herself, from among the widowers or unmarried youths of her husband's family. This alternative arrangement was suggested, because it is a frequent custom among the Sikhs to marry their brothers' widows, thus saving the girl from the awful slavery for life, which is the fate of Hindoo child-widows.

Poor Bhajun Lal, in whom family affection and love of money, were equally ruling passions, was persuaded by his relatives to send in his resignation, and thus cut himself adrift from his chance of becoming a Christian. It was a great sorrow to all who had been brought to know, and like him, during the three years he had been with the Maharajah, for he was, indeed, "almost a Christian" at heart, and

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certainly had been, under God, the instrument of confirming the desire of the Maharajah to come out from among his people. A handsome present of money and a horse were given him on leaving.

The Maharajah did not evince much sorrow at parting from him, though he had counted on his going to England with him; but he fully agreed in the propriety of lending no countenance to the iniquity of infant marriages.

It may be as well to mention here all that is known of the later history of Bhajun Lal. He wrote occasionally to Dr. Login, but his letters were full of money-getting; he became a *bunniah* in the city of Furruckabad, and at the time of the Mutiny proved himself faithful, and was of great use, though he was unable to save the property of the Maharajah from loot and destruction. He is now the head of the great firm of tentmakers at Futtehghur (Bhajun Lal & Co.), but all idea of becoming a Christian seems to have passed away.

Early in February, the camp of the Commander-in-Chief (Sir William Gomm), came to Futtehghur, and with it Colonel Mountain, one of the staff, who was brought in from the district dangerously ill. He was conveyed to Dr. Login's house, and attended by him; but medical skill was of no avail, and in a few days he died there. As Colonel Mountain was a very great friend of the Governor-General, Login at once wrote a full account of his last

moments to Lord Dalhousie; to which letter the following is a reply:— 

My dear Login,

I received your sad letter yesterday, and am grateful for what you tell me of the last moments of my poor friend. He has died the death of the righteous! I never doubted that, soldier and Christian as he was, he would die when his time came as hero or saint should die. I mourn for him with a deep and sincere sorrow.

I wish I could ask the Maharajah to come here to Government House on his arrival, but there are only really two or three rooms in the whole house. Would it be any convenience to you to put up at Government House, Barrackpore? there is plenty of room there, and you would not be far off. I will have it all got ready for him if I hear from you that he would like it. His horses, &c., will have plenty of accommodation at the stables there.

No objection will be raised to the Shahzadah going to England, if the Maharajah still desires it, so you can bring him with you.

Yours truly,

Dalhousie.

In reply, Login said that the Maharajah would much like to go to Barrackpore, and was full of eager anticipation of his coming visit to England, that he talked of entering one of the public schools and taking his place among boys of his own age, "only hoping he won't get many thrashings."

This suggestion apparently did not meet with the

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Governor-General's approval, as we may judge from the answer it elicited :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Feb. 25th*, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

The proposal to go to public school won't do at all. He is much too old, and would be thrashed beyond a doubt periodically. Even a university would not do.

Yours sincerely,

DALHOUSIE.

A short stay was made at Lucknow, *en route* to Calcutta, owing to a kind invitation from the Resident, Colonel Sleeman, to the Maharajah, asking him to pay him a visit, and see the sights of that city before leaving India. As there was no intention of exchanging courtesies with the native Court there, the visit was made a private one, though, as the Maharajah was now on his way to Europe, the usual ceremonials were observed as to guards of honour, salutes, &c. ;* . . . .

* *Letter from Major W. A. G. Mayhew (Asst. A.G. to Brigadier-General T. Palmer, Commanding Cawnpore Division) dated A. G. Office, Calcutta 11th March*, 1854. *No.* 193 :—

Under instructions from the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, I have the honour to request that, should His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh halt at Cawnpore, he is to be received at that station with a salute of twenty-one guns.

I am further directed to inform you, that His Highness is to be provided with a Jemadar's Guard during his visit.

an escort of irregular cavalry accompanied his carriage to and from Lucknow, and a military guard remained in attendance with him. Whilst at Lucknow, Dr. and Mrs. Login were treated with great distinction by the King of Oude and the Prime Minister; they were expressly invited to the Palace, where a *khillut* was presented to Dr. Login, with the addition of a valuable sword as a souvenir, and a pair of diamond bracelets and a ring to Mrs. Login.

As Dr. Login was not then in the service of the King, these presents could not be accepted; but the King made a request to Colonel Sleeman, that the circumstances of the presentation might be made known to the Governor-General, so that an exception to the ordinary rule might be allowed in this case. The amount of correspondence which this unimportant matter entailed between high officials in India and the Court of Directors at home before the official permission of the latter body was given, would cause no little amusement and surprise to those unacquainted with the idiosyncrasies of red-tape routine.

Colonel—afterwards Sir William—Sleeman, celebrated for his successful efforts for the suppression of "Thuggee," was an ardent ethnologist, and a great authority on the origin of races. The following letter, which he wrote to Login after the Maharajah's visit to Lucknow, may prove interesting, as containing the fruits of some of his researches on the subject of the great westward migration from the Pamir plateau of

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the Hindoo Koosh, and the connection between the Indo-Teutonic races :—

COLONEL SLEEMAN *to* DR. LOGIN.

LUCKNOW RESIDENCY, *March 17th*, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have been reading up the book I spoke to the Maharajah about ("Pictorial History of England"), since he left. You must get it for him, and let him see for himself that he is of the same race as the men of Kent. They were from Jutland, and came into England with the Saxons from Friesland and Angles from Holstein, who dispossessed the old Britons in the fifth century. They were the Juts or old Getæ of the Greeks and Romans, who came from the countries about Kashgar. Some came down and settled on the banks of the Indus, whence they spread to the Jumna and Chunbal; whilst others went and settled in western Europe (Sweden and Denmark); from them Jutland received its name. Tell His Highness that their chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, were Juts, like himself; their family came from Kashgar and the Caspian, and settled in Jutland; while his part of the family settled on the Indus, spreading to the Punjab. The Juts took possession of Kent, and some of the first kings were Juts, like the Maharajah's ancestors, and both might, with equal justice, boast descent from Odin, the god of war; they also took possession of the Isle of Wight and the Isle of Thanet. All the old Kentish families are descendants of Juts, and of the same race as Duleep Singh. You can show him some of the beauties of Kent, as you go up the Thames, and he will have an opportunity of seeing it if he visits Lord Hardinge. Tell him, with our kind regards, that we would be very pleased if he would present the beautiful ring which he did Mrs. Sleeman the honour of offering her to the first

pretty Kentish girl he sees, and claim brotherhood with her, on the authority of an old Indian officer, his friend, Colonel Sleeman. If she is of pure Kentish descent, he may feel assured that they are members of the same great family! I trust His Highness will cultivate his great talent for music: it will be a great resource to him hereafter. Chapter X. 1852-54.

Believe me, my dear Login,

Yours very truly,

W. A. Sleeman.

At Benares, an addition was made to the party in the person of the Pundit Nehemiah Goreh, a young and learned Brahmin convert, who had joined the missionaries there to work among his country people, but who was induced by the Rev. W. Smith (senior missionary) to accept Login's proposal, and accompany Duleep Singh to England for three years, as his tutor in Oriental languages. Nehemiah Goreh was of the greatest benefit to Duleep Singh; he was so truly earnest, so pure-minded and simple, and his faith so strong, that his example was a living lesson. He returned to India at the expiry of his term to resume his work, unspoiled by all the attention and admiration he had excited.

The hot weather was beginning when the party reached Government House, Barrackpore, where every arrangement had been made for His Highness's comfort, his own carriage and horses having been sent on

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a-head. A note from the Governor-General was awaiting Login :—

My dear Login,

Come to breakfast if you can on Monday. There shall be a room ready for you. Of course, this is only if convenient to you. I have sent you a huge memorial from the mother of the brat you have brought, accusing you of many enormities, of which child-stealing is the least ! !

Yours very truly,

Dalhousie.

Of course, since the mother of the Shahzadah had lodged a petition against her son's going to England, the idea was abandoned. Her uncle, Meah Mullick, who came to Calcutta as her *vakeel* to present it, was seized with cholera. He refused the advice or assistance of any other doctor than Login himself, to whom he despatched a messenger in the middle of the night imploring him to come to him ! No time was lost by the "Doctor Sahib" in obeying this urgent summons, and he remained with the poor man till he was out of danger.*

* *Extract from official letter dated Fortwilliam, 18th April,* 1854 :—

"His Lordship thinks it only just to you to state, with reference to the memorial of the Ranee Duknoo, that the Government entirely acquits you of the charge of attempting to influence the Shahzadah's religion, and to add, that you have not sought to conceal from the Government the reluctance of the Ranee to allow her son to accompany the Maharajah."

A few days after his arrival at Barrackpore, the Maharajah was received by Lord Dalhousie.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *April 3rd*, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have ordered the "Soonamooky" to be at Barrackpore to-morrow by ten a.m. The best plan for the Maharajah to follow will be to come down in the steamer, taking tiffin on board, so as to be here by five p.m. I can then have the guard out for him at half-past five, and he can return to Barrackpore by road, in the cool of the evening. For this purpose he can take my carriage to the half-way stables, if you will have his own waiting him there. If he were to come during the day, I can't well have the guard out. He will receive his salute (twenty-one guns) when he lands, and will have the Body Guard troopers if he goes through the town.

Pray impress upon His Highness that while in India he receives all the honours of his rank—in England he will be entitled only to courtesy.*

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

On the 19th April the Maharajah and his party

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* *Extract from a Letter of* LORD DALHOUSIE *to* JOHN LAWRENCE :—

CALCUTTA, *April 11th*, 1854.

"The Maharajah Duleep Singh is here, and sails on the 19th. He has grown a great deal, speaks English well, has a good manner, and altogether will, I think, do us credit in England, if they do not spoil him there."—"*Life of Lord Lawrence*," vol. i., p. 452.

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sailed for England. The following is Lord Dalhousie's letter of farewell to his ward on his leaving India:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *April 18th*, 1854.

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

Before you quit India, I have been desirous of offering you a parting gift, which in future years might sometimes remind you of me.

Since that day, when the course of public events placed you a little boy in my hands, I have regarded you in some sort as my son. I therefore ask you, before we part, to accept from me the volume which I should offer to my own child, as the best of all gifts, since in it alone is to be found the secret of real happiness either in this world or in that which is to come.

I bid you farewell, my dear Maharajah, and beg you to believe me always

With sincere regard,

Your Highness's faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

His Highness MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

# CHAPTER XI.

## ENGLAND.



THE voyage to England was uneventful. On the deck of the steamer, the young Maharajah bade farewell with great equanimity to all his Punjabi retainers, his mind being full of pleasurable anticipation of all the wonders he was about to see on the other side of the "Kalee Panee."

In Egypt he met with a cordial reception. Through the instrumentality of Mr. Bruce, whose kind offices Lord Dalhousie had bespoken, the carriages of the Viceroy were placed at his disposal. In order that he might have time to see something of the sights in the neighbourhood of Cairo and Alexandria, it was arranged that he should remain in Egypt, until the departure of the following steamer.

In this way, he was enabled to pay a visit to the Pyramids, an expedition which he much enjoyed, and where he, like the boy he was, insisted on organizing a race to the top with his companions, much to the disgust of the Arab guides, who, on these occasions, are accustomed to take forcible possession of the unlucky

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tourist, and haul him by main force, from block to block, up the side of the pyramid, demanding black-mail from him, at every particularly perilous point in the ascent, and who regarded the Indian Prince as their especial prey, and as furnishing an opportunity, not to be missed, of unlimited *backsheesh*. They took their revenge, however—these gallant "sons of the desert" —when the party prepared to inspect the interior of the pyramid. Not a second time were they to be baulked of their lawful dues; and, once engulphed in the *literally Egyptian darkness* within, their hapless victim was seized on, dragged, pushed, and hustled, where and how they would, till,—what with the confusion, pressure, and especially the stifling heat, caused by bad air, burning torches, and swarms of ill-odorous, half-naked followers of the Prophet,—their "distinguished visitor" was only too glad to re-emerge into the open air, with a very hazy idea indeed as to where he had been (save that it was as near proving his own tomb as that of any old Egyptian monarch!) but not a little surprised to find himself still intact, and that his dusky conductors had considerately refrained from relieving him of even one of his pearl necklaces, but contented themselves with demanding a heavy toll in coin for the privilege of their *attendance*.

Whilst at Cairo, he was taken to visit the American Mission Schools, and was greatly interested to see so many orphan girls being educated in the Christian religion.

While still in Indian waters, at Aden and elsewhere, the regular salute ordered by the Governor-General was given the Maharajah, on the vessel which conveyed him dropping anchor; but there was some uncertainty in Duleep Singh's mind as to the exact amount of recognition to be awarded him by the Home Government. When on board the homeward-bound steamer from Alexandria, therefore, there was a certain degree of anxiety in noting the exact number of guns fired to greet his arrival at Malta and Gibraltar; especially was this evident at the latter fortress, where—spite of his well-maintained *sang-froid* before his fellow-passengers, who were deeply interested in the proceedings—a close observer could discover that the Maharajah was in reality quietly counting the number, as each report was heard, and when the total reached twenty, and there could be no doubt that a full "royal salute" of twenty-one guns was intended, he could no longer repress the look of satisfaction which appeared on his countenance.

On Login's application to the Treasury, Sir Charles Trevelyan arranged that His Highness's baggage should be passed through the Customs, as is usual with royal visitors, and he also obtained, as a mark of consideration from the Court of Directors, the compliment of having a residence provided for him at their expense during his stay in England. Until this could be arranged, apartments were taken for him at "Mivart's (Claridge's) Hotel."

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A close correspondence was still kept up with Lord Dalhousie, whose interest in the reception of the young Prince will be shown by the following letters, written in reply to Login's, announcing his arrival:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,

*August 10th*, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Your letter of 24th June gave me very great pleasure. You have made a most favourable start in your London life, and I have no doubt all will go on agreeably, and upon the excellent plan you have laid down for the Maharajah. He has made a very pleasing impression on those to whom he has been introduced, several of them having already written to me to that effect. My friend, Sir George Couper,* will, I am sure, do all that his own many duties will allow him to do to help you.

Sirdar Lena Singh Majeetia has died at Benares. The Shahzadah's mother has arrived there, and wrote to me lately. It was a very civil letter, and, among other things, protested that she had never said a word against you in her life!!

We are all very quiet here in India. The king of Ava is sending up an envoy to Calcutta, and Dost Mahomed is "ettling" to be well with us at the other side of the land. I enclose a letter for the Maharajah.

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

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* Comptroller of the Household to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent.

*September*, 1854. Chapter XI. 1854-56.

My dear Login,

I have had the pleasure to receive yours of July 24th.

The reception that the Maharajah has had, and the pleasing impression his unassuming manners and well-bred bearing have made, are very agreeable to me.

You have done a tidy little bit of business in getting a house out of the Court, and I advise you to rest content with that, and not seek for more "marks of consideration," or they may be anxious for his return to Futtehghur!.

Sir G. Couper writes in warm terms of His Highness; he is very happy to be of use to you.

Yours, &c.,

Dalhousie.

Duleep Singh had found it convenient, while in India, to adopt a semi-European style of dress for sporting, riding, and boating, as it gave him more freedom of motion. It soon became his ordinary costume, save for formal occasions, and a very handsome, becoming, and picturesque one it was. It consisted of the Sikh, embroidered *coortah*, or Cashmere tunic, and over that a single-breasted velvet coat, richly embroidered in gold; English trousers, with a stripe of gold embroidery down the seams. In his Sikh turban was a jewelled aigrette, and three rows of large pearls were round his neck; frequently he had on other jewels besides these, but he was never without the pearl necklace, and a pair of large emerald-and-

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pearl earrings. After he came to England, he only wore his complete national (Sikh) costume, with all its splendid jewels, when he went to Court, or at any great entertainment, but it was not for some years after this that he fully adopted English dress for all occasions. The Court of Directors were agreeably impressed with the unassuming manners and quiet dignity of the deposed young ruler of a warlike nation, and accorded him a friendly welcome. The Queen and the Prince Consort, very soon after the Maharajah's arrival, gave him a special audience, and he returned charmed with the kindness of the Queen's manner to him, and every successive interview added to the warmth of the feelings with which he regarded the Queen and the Prince. Her Majesty gave orders for a full-length portrait of him to be painted by Winterhalter, and for this he gave sittings at Buckingham Palace twice a week. This brought him much in contact with the Queen and Prince Albert; for they were always present, and greatly amused by his *naïve* remarks on all he saw and heard in this, to him, strange country.

The candour and straightforwardness of his comments seemed especially amusing to the Prince, who delighted in drawing him out, and getting him to talk freely to him.

Duleep Singh contrasted favourably with the generality of natives of India in the truthfulness of his character, and this was encouraged in every way by his guardian, who was most desirous that his love of

truth, hatred of deception, and habit of calling "a spade a spade," in which he had been trained, should not be rubbed off by intercourse with the world. Chapter XI. 1854-56.

His zeal for truth, and disapproval of "polite lies," were sometimes unsparingly displayed at this time. On the way back from a large party, on one occasion, he said, "I am afraid you believe the Duke of —— to be a good man. Now, I can tell you that he does not speak truth, for I heard him tell Lord A—— that he had quite enjoyed his son's visit, and hoped to invite him again, for he was a delightful companion, and he had just before told *me*, that he was nothing but an ass, and not worth my making his acquaintance!" and another time, "Did you hear Lady —— praising that lovely Lady ——'s dress, telling her she thought it the most beautiful at the Drawing-room? when I had heard her say to Mr. D——, that she looked a perfect fright!"

At a large dinner given in his honour, by a General just returned from high command in India, where he had already met Duleep Singh, the hostess pressed the Maharajah to take some curry she had had specially made for him. She went on to say that no doubt it was very inferior to what he was accustomed to, but she trusted, in that case, that he would honestly tell her if it was not good. The poor boy had been politely endeavouring to swallow a little of the mixture, which was certainly very unlike an Indian curry; but when his hostess said this, he believed she *meant* it, and, putting down his fork and spoon with a sigh of relief,

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he ejaculated, "Oh! you are quite right, it is horrible —take it away!" The dismay of the hostess may be conceived! She thought herself an authority on Indian dishes, and this was the *plat* of the occasion!

During a visit to Windsor with the Maharajah, the Queen was graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Login—a mark of royal approbation which gave sincere pleasure to Duleep Singh. The latter's own rank was already determined to be the same as that of an European prince, and as chief of the native princes of India, he was authorized to take precedence next after the Royal Family. Just before this announcement was publicly made, a large dinner party had been arranged, in honour of Duleep Singh, at the house of Sir Robert Inglis, the Primate (Archbishop Longley), Lord Shaftesbury, and other notables being invited to meet him. Poor Sir Robert, who was too good a Churchman to like the idea of any Indian prince (although a converted one) taking precedence of the Primate of the English Church, came in great distress of mind to consult Login as to what could be arranged, to prevent such a scandal taking place in his house! He was assured, that the young Prince would make no difficulty in giving way to the Archbishop, and he went away much relieved. On the way to the house, Sir Robert's dilemma was explained to the Maharajah, and the suggestion made, that he should signify to his host his willingness to come *after*

the Archbishop. Lady Login remembers how eagerly he assented, saying, "I am very glad; *now* the Archbishop will have to take the *oldest* lady present, and this time surely I may please myself. I always get such old ladies!" When he was told of Sir Robert's suggestion, that he and the Primate should walk in *together*, his shout of laughter startled the solemn servants, who were marshalled to usher him in, but his face of dismay, when a *second old lady* was brought up to him, was truly comical! Chapter XI. 1854-56.

Sir John Login steadily resisted all the proposals of different religious bodies to bring forward the distinguished convert to Christianity on public platforms, and strenuous efforts were made by the Exeter Hall party to induce him to allow his name to appear in religious and missionary reports.

He explained his reasons fully to Lord Shaftesbury, who acknowledged their force and propriety; and this correspondence was the commencement of a warm and sincere friendship between them. Login's Indian experience being frequently called upon, for the benefit of missionary and philanthropic work, during their many conferences in London, and at Lord Shaftesbury's country house, St. Giles, he was also brought into close correspondence, with the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Henry Venn.

Hitherto, since the arrival of the Maharajah in England, the subject of the Koh-i-noor had not been touched on in conversation in his presence; his

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Governor and Lady Login were, however, well aware of his sentiments on the matter, as, indeed, he had made no secret of them. They knew that, to him, "the Koh-i-noor" meant something beyond a mere jewel of fabulous value,—in his eyes, and in the eyes of Oriental nations, it was an object of superstitious veneration, as the symbol of imperial sovereignty over Hindostan, and the countries adjacent, marking its possessor as chief among the rulers of Southern Asia; it was on this account that Runjeet Singh had made such strenuous efforts to get it into his hands, as setting the seal to his ambitious designs, and for this reason, too, that he never trusted it far from his own person, but had it always conveyed with him, under a strong guard, wherever he went.

Lady Login was present, by special desire, at all the sittings for the Maharajah's portrait, given by him at Buckingham Palace. At one of these, the Queen, in the course of conversation, asked her, "If the Maharajah ever spoke of the Koh-i-noor, and, if so, did he seem to regret it?" observing, at the same time, that she had never mentioned the jewel to him, and would feel a certain delicacy about wearing it in his presence. Lady Login replied, that he had never spoken of it since he came to England, though he had often done so in India, and had been greatly interested in the descriptions of the operation of re-cutting it. Her Majesty then said, that she hoped Lady Login would be able, before the next sitting,

to ascertain what the Maharajah's feelings were on the subject, and whether he would care to see it, now that it was re-cut, adding, "Remember to tell me all he says." Chapter XI. 1854-56.

The task was by no means an easy one to Lady Login, for she dreaded what the Maharajah might say, and did not wish to bring the matter formally into discussion. No good opportunity presented itself, as the days went on, until just the day before the next sitting, when, as she was riding with him in Richmond Park, she managed to lead the conversation up to the subject. Then trying to put the question in a casual manner, "Would you like to see the Koh-i-noor again?" she waited in some anxiety for his reply. "Yes," was his answer, "I would give a great deal to hold it again in my own hand?" "Why? For what reason?" "I should like to have it in my power myself to place it in Her hand, now that I am a man. I was only a child then, when I surrendered it to Her by the Treaty; but now I am old enough to understand."

The feeling of relief caused by this answer was great, and it was with a light heart she repeated it to the Queen on the following day.

Unknown to the Maharajah, who was engaged with the painter at the further end of the room, Her Majesty at once gave orders for the Koh-i-noor to be sent for from the Tower. After some interval, there was a slight bustle near the door;

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the arrival of the jewel and its escort was announced; and it was brought in, and presented to the Queen.

Taking the diamond in Her hand, Her Majesty then advanced to the daïs, on which the Maharajah was posed for his portrait, and, before the astonished young man realized what was passing, he found himself once more with the Koh-i-noor in his hand, while the Queen was asking him if "he thought it improved? and whether he would have recognized it again?" At first sight, indeed, he would hardly have done so, the cutting and European setting had so altered its character; yet, in spite of these, it remained still the "Mountain of Light," and it was with some emotion and eagerness that he walked to the window and minutely examined it, making remarks on its diminished size and greater brilliancy, whilst the spectators could not help watching his movements with some anxiety. It was a nervous quarter of an hour for Lady Login!

But, when at length he had finished his inspection, Duleep Singh walked across the room, and, with a low obeisance, presented the Koh i-noor to his Sovereign, expressing in a few graceful words the pleasure it afforded him to have this opportunity of *himself* placing it in Her hands. Whereupon he quietly resumed his place on the daïs, and the artist continued his work.

The Queen and Prince Consort held many conver-

sations with Login, on the subject of the Maharajah,* and took particular interest in all the details given them, with regard to his education. The Pundit, Nehemiah Goreh, having been mentioned in high terms on one of these occasions, Her Majesty expressed a wish to have him presented to Her; it was arranged that Sir John should bring him to the Palace, where he was received in private audience, as the Prince was desirous of an opportunity of personally questioning this learned and interesting Brahmin convert.

The Maharajah witnessed, for the first time, the ceremony of the Prorogation of Parliament, and, by her Majesty's special direction, was accommodated with a seat on the "woolsack."

*Letter from* LOGIN *to* LORD DALHOUSIE.

ROEHAMPTON, *Nov.* 22*nd*, 1854.

MY LORD,

I had the pleasure of seeing Sir G. Couper a few days ago, and he mentioned that he had acquainted your Lordship, by last mail, that it was Her Majesty's intention to confer the honour of knighthood upon me, so that your Lordship will have been prepared for the announcement of it in the *Gazette*. It has been as much a spontaneous act of Her Majesty's favour, as it is possible to be, and can only be considered in the light of a com-

* Her Majesty was very anxious thoroughly to understand the Maharajah's history and position, and by her request, Login drew up a memorandum on the subject for her private perusal, from which document much information in the earlier portion of this work has been culled.

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pliment to the Maharajah, and a token of Her Majesty's high approval and encouragement. For my own part, I must confess that I should feel more easy under my new dignity, if a good many others, who have far higher claims, were equally honoured. Sir James Melvill, while expressing his own satisfaction at this mark of Her Majesty's approval, assures me that it has been highly gratifying to the Court of Directors.

The Maharajah expresses himself much pleased that Her Majesty has thus honoured me, but he is shrewd enough to see that the compliment will be fully more useful to himself than to me.

It was Sir James Melvill himself who suggested that I should look out for a larger and better residence for His Highness than that at Wimbledon, which was the only one available at the time, and this was backed by Sir Frederick Currie and Sir George Pollock. I mention this, in case you may think that I have been asking for *more* "marks of consideration" from the Court of Directors!

At the Treasury, I have found Sir Charles Trevelyan most anxious to help me, and, through his kind representations, the Maharajah has been exempted from income-tax, and all other assessed taxes. This has been done without any official representation, or question as to its legality, merely as a matter of expediency, and by private reference to the Inland Revenue Board, which Sir Charles has had the kindness to arrange for me. I am anxious, however, that the Maharajah should be fully aware of the value and extent of these exemptions and "marks of consideration" which have been shown to him; and I have given him to understand that I have not been exerting myself merely to give him a greater amount of money to hoard up, but to enable him to be generous and liberal. His natural disposition is, I am afraid, very much the reverse of this; indeed, at times, I am ashamed of his stinginess; but so long as I find him willing to agree to any act of liberality I may recommend, I ought not to complain that he never originates any!

As it is now time that he should begin to take an interest in his own accounts, I propose to make over to him the management and direction of all charitable disbursements as a commencement, and to show him how much he has it in his power to be bountiful, in consequence of the liberality which has been shown to him.

I intend, in addition to his ordinary allowance for charitable purposes, to place to the credit of this fund for benevolent purposes—

1st.—The amount saved to him by the liberality of the Court of Directors in furnishing him with a residence during his stay in England.

2nd.—Amount saved by exemption from income and assessed taxes.

3rd.—By remission of import duties on his baggage.

4th.—Discount on tradesmen's bills, and, perhaps, the table allowance paid by me, on account of myself and family.

In his position, and with the disposition he evinces, I think it will be very desirable to set off all these items, in order that he may see how much the liberality of others has placed in his power.

Whether he may apply it all to benevolent purposes will depend on himself. He has already, out of this fund, agreed to give 1,000 rupees for yearly prizes at the schools at Amritsur, near Lahore; £100 to the Patriotic Fund; a donation of £500 to an Institution for Destitute Natives of Distant Lands, of whom there are now so many in London, and is to subscribe £250 annually for its support during his stay in England.

ROEHAMPTON, *Dec. 23rd*, 1854.

I have to thank your Lordship for your kind letters of Sept. and Oct. 21st. I am very much gratified to hear that Her Majesty should have Herself informed you of the good impression which

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the Maharajah had made, and of the genuine interest which she takes in him.

I have already acquainted your Lordship that the Maharajah has had an opportunity of meeting the Coorg Princess, and that he was favourably impressed with what he had seen of her. She is, indeed, an amiable and engaging little girl, and, so far as one can judge, is likely to turn out well. Mrs. Drummond has brought her several times to visit my wife and children, and the Maharajah has also twice called on the Princess and Mrs. Drummond, with me. I am, however, very anxious, that any advances towards intimacy should come from himself, and I know that, although he is inclined to be pleased with her, he is rather apprehensive of leading her to expect too much from his attentions! I have little doubt, if it were not for her father's character, and the dread he has of coming into contact with him, he would be more disposed to cultivate acquaintance with her. As I have, however, been lately engaged in reading the History of the Sikhs with him, and especially Carmichael Smyth's "Reigning Family of Lahore," he perceives that, in respect to their parents, they are similarly situated, and that the same feeling which may prevent him from wishing to be connected with the Rajah of Coorg's family, is likely to be an obstacle to his forming an alliance *elsewhere*.

I have thought it right that he should be aware that everything regarding his early history is known in England, and that the attention and kindness which have been shown to him have been caused by a desire to encourage him to raise himself out of the mire of treachery, murder, and debauchery, in which, but for God's grace, he would have been overwhelmed. As he is now able to appreciate the difference between the standard of Christian morality, which he ought to aim at, and the miserable debauchery from which he has escaped, I think that the perusal of the history of the Sikhs, and of his family (which he acknowledges to be on the whole correct), is likely to be useful to him, especially if accompanied with remarks, introduced with sufficient delicacy, by

one who has his welfare much at heart, and that it is calculated not only to render him contented, but most thankful to have escaped from the dangerous position in which he had been placed. Your Lordship is doubtless aware that Her Majesty has been pleased, after due consideration, to give the Maharajah the rank and precedence of an European Prince. When the Queen did me the honour to ask me what were the Maharajah's own wishes on the subject, I said that His Highness was so confident of Her Majesty's goodwill towards him, that he was satisfied that she would graciously order what might appear best for him. In conversation with Colonel Phipps, regarding the manner in which His Highness was to be received at Osborne, I agreed with his suggestion, that the Maharajah should go down to the Isle of Wight to reside for a short time, and be invited to dine frequently at Osborne, being received and treated as a subject of high rank; and I was therefore taken by surprise when Colonel Phipps informed me, some time afterwards, that it had been, on consideration, determined that he should have the rank and precedence of an European Prince. I mention this, in case you may think that I have been taking any part in this elevation.*



The Maharajah was made very happy during his visit to Osborne. The Queen and the Prince Consort treated him with the most gracious kindliness, and

* It is the intention of the Queen to invite the Maharajah to come down here for a couple of days early in next week. . . . . I will take care that one of Her Majesty's yachts shall be in attendance in the docks . . . . to bring His Highness over. You are probably aware that, after deliberation, Her Majesty has been advised that the Maharajah is entitled, in this country, to the same rank and precedence as an European Prince.—*Quotation from a letter to Login from Sir Charles Phipps, dated Osborne, Aug. 14th*, 1854.

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all the royal children made much of him, treating him as if he were one of themselves. The Princesses introduced him to their special domain—the Swiss châlet in the park, which was fitted up for them with all conveniences for cooking and housewifery; here they entertained him and their brothers, and exhibited their skill in cookery. The Maharajah thoroughly appreciated the joke, when the Princes, affecting greater proficiency in the art of boiling potatoes, basely took forcible possession of the cottage, locked out the rightful owners, and, with Duleep Singh's valuable (!) assistance, proceeded themselves to prepare the repast.

From this time forward, a correspondence was established, between the Maharajah and the young Princes, and many letters (now extant) bear witness to their cordiality and friendliness towards him. Birthday-presents were exchanged, and sketches executed by the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred are still to be seen, treasured in the same book with photographs of the Royal Family, taken by the Maharajah on one of these visits, with the friendly assistance of the Prince Consort. In some of these photographs, the young Princes are seen dressed in the Maharajah's Indian costumes.

The Queen never forgot the Maharajah's birthday; as regularly as it came round arrived the royal birthday-gift. A valuable thorough-bred hunter was the first of these; he also received, at different times,

a dog, a beautiful time-piece, and other gracious tokens of her kindly interest in him. Chapter XI. 1854-56.

At Lord Hardinge's invitation, the Maharajah, Sir John and Lady Login paid a visit to South Park, near Penshurst. They spent here a delightful week among the pretty Kentish scenery, and the Maharajah did his best to carry out Sir William Sleeman's injunctions!* As the Maharajah's horses had been sent down beforehand, the party were able to take many rides, and thoroughly explore the neighbourhood around. The late Governor-General (then Commander-in-Chief in England, in succession to the Duke of Wellington) was a fine, hale-looking, old man, with the remarkable bright-blue eyes peculiar to his race, and it was with a grand, old-world courtesy that he received as his guest the ex-Sovereign, whose armies he had defeated in three bloody fights, yet whose crown and kingdom he had magnanimously spared.

This was Duleep Singh's first experience of English country life; later on, with Sir John and Lady Login, he went down to Scotland for a short time, and from Edinburgh, paid a visit to Lord Morton at Dalmahoy. On the return journey, they stopped for a week at Hickleton Hall, in Yorkshire, belonging to Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax); at Wentworth, the seat of Earl Fitzwilliam; and at Teddesley, Lord Hatherton's place in Staffordshire; and thus

* See *ante*, p. 326.

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extended his acquaintance with the homes of English noblemen.

He thoroughly enjoyed English life in all its phases, and acquired a keen taste for sport. As he was very anxious to get some shooting in the Highlands, Castle Menzies, in Perthshire, was hired for a period, from Sir Robert Menzies, and the two or three succeeding years of his English life were mostly passed there, the house at Roehampton being occupied merely during the winter and spring months.

It had been decided by Lord Dalhousie that Duleep Singh should attain his majority at the age of eighteen, although, according to Sikh custom and the Treaty of Bhyrowal,* his minority would end when he became sixteen, when, had he not been deposed in 1849, he would have been left to himself to manage his kingdom. As time was now passing, the Maharajah was naturally anxious to know what arrangement (if any) was contemplated for his future; and the following letter to Lord Dalhousie will show that at this early period the question was already being pressed, by Login, on the attention of Government:—

WIMBLEDON, *Oct.*, 1854.

Sir Charles Wood has no doubt told your Lordship the opinion he had formed of the Maharajah, on closer acquaintance, during his visit at Hickleton, and he told me, that he had also communi-

* See Appendix.

cated with you on the subject of his settlement on coming of age. Since the visit to Hickleton, His Highness has spoken to me on the matter, and I think it right that your Lordship should be informed of the views he entertains, in order that I may be able, before the question is settled, to prepare His Highness for such an arrangement as may be decided upon. On mentioning to the Maharajah that it was very desirable that the arrangements for his settlement on coming of age should be made while your Lordship remained in India, he quite agreed with me. And I then asked him what his own wishes were on the subject? He said that his own wishes at present were, not to receive an assignment of land or any estate from Government, as in that case he would feel under obligations to reside there, and could not, perhaps, have the power to dispose of it, if he wished to do so, but that he was anxious that such accumulations as may have taken place during his minority, by lapses of pensions from the allowance of "not less than four lakhs, and not more than five lakhs, per annum," to which he and his family and servants were entitled by the Treaty, should then be made over to him, and that from that sum he could appropriate a part to purchase an estate, and allow the balance to be deposited for him in Government securities. His Highness is evidently under the impression that the "not less than four lakhs" mentioned in the Treaty were to be allowed to him and his family and servants in perpetuity, and that he is entitled to such accumulations as may take place by lapses of pensions from this fund; and, as your Lordship may view the matter in a different light, it is very necessary that you should be apprised of it, to prevent any future misunderstanding.

I told him that I should mention his wishes to your Lordship, and also to Sir Charles Wood, but said, at the same time, that he might rest satisfied that whatever justice and goodwill towards him might dictate would be done.

As His Highness had never before so decidedly expressed his own

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wishes, I am anxious that your Lordship should know them, and that you will favour me with your instructions. . . . . I shall, of course, say nothing on the subject to him, until I hear from your Lordship.

Since his return to Wimbledon, he has been applying himself assiduously to his studies. My letter from Edinburgh would give all particulars of His Highness's visit to Dalhousie Castle. He certainly enjoyed his stay at Hickleton Hall, where he made many new acquaintances, and, I think, made a very favourable impression on all.

Yours,

J. S. L.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Nov.* 11*th*, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

It gave me great pleasure to receive letters from you and the Maharajah when at Edinburgh, and to learn that you had paid a visit to my children, at the Castle.

You may well believe that I anticipate my daughter Susan's coming with great delight, not free, however, from anxiety regarding this pestilent climate. I have resolved to go next summer to the Neilgherries, as practically the nearest point to Calcutta at which I could take refuge. We are all very quiet here in India. Instead of a Russian army from Cabul, we have received a friendly mission from the Ameer, and I am in daily expectation of a similar mission from the King of Ava. Your former potentate, the King of Oude, is very ill. He has "wined, womened, and wasted" himself to death's door, and I fear we shall have that wretched Government prolonged, throughout another minority. Old Sleeman is quite done. Colonel Outram is to act, and will, no doubt, remain permanently.

I remain, my dear Login,

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

ROEHAMPTON, *April 9th*, 1855. Chapter XI. 1854-56.

MY LORD,

The Maharajah continues to apply himself to his studies, and has made much more progress than formerly, because he now puts some heart in his work. At present he devotes his attention to the German language, which, from its affinity to the Sanscrit and Hindu is, he thinks, more likely to be useful to him than French.

Perhaps his intercourse with the Prince Consort has been a spur to application in this particular branch. He has great facility in acquiring languages, however, and this is likely to be very useful to him, if he travels. Among his other accomplishments, he is learning photography, with much success. This also has been greatly encouraged by the Prince Consort, who has taken great interest in his progress. He has had the honour of dining with Her Majesty several times since I last wrote, and continues to receive most kind attention. The Queen has caused a likeness of him to be published, from Winterhalter's picture, and I think the artist has been most successful. I am happy to say that he does not appear to be in any way spoiled by these attentions; he seems to appreciate them in a very proper way. On receiving your Lordship's last letter, I explained to him (as you requested me) his mistake in supposing that lapses from the four lakhs were to fall in to him to increase his allowances. He listened in silence, making no remark, but appeared satisfied to trust his future settlement, on coming of age, to the justice and liberality of your Lordship and the British Government.

I mentioned in a former letter that His Highness intended to subscribe liberally to get up a Home for Strangers—Asiatics, Africans, &c., visiting London. He was present at a meeting held for the purpose a fortnight since, and there is every prospect of the institution being successful. I am quite aware of the danger to be apprehended, in allowing him to occupy too

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conspicuous a position in such matters; but I trust, with prudence, to avoid all risk, and, at the same time, enable him to effect much good; this seemed especially an object which he ought to help.

I think I told your Lordship that I was engaged in making up a conveyance for the wounded in the field. I think I have been successful, and that I have been able to turn my Indian experience in such matters to good account.

With earnest wishes for your restoration to health,

I remain, &c.,

J. S. L.

*Jan.*, 1855.

My dear Login,

Your description of Duleep's life in England is really very gratifying. If this lad does not grow up with right notions and principles, and well-directed sentiments, it certainly will not be your fault. I agree with you, that if he will only follow when rightly led, we need not be disappointed that he does not lead the way. . . . . I have no right to consider you under my authority at present; but you may be assured that the unrestrained correspondence between us is a real pleasure to me. The Queen has again mentioned to me the Maharajah's second visit, and she also alluded to the Coorg affair. I am glad to find that it promises well, and I hope may come to something, although, like other cases of "true love," it may not always run smooth!

I am very shaky, and nearly done.

I beg to offer my most sincere congratulations to Lady Login, which I omitted to do before, when I wrote to congratulate *you*.

Believe me, my dear Login,

Yours very truly,

Dalhousie.

Duleep Singh's education continued all this time to be regularly carried on by masters for the various subjects, and, on the whole, he made very fair progress, though there was always a difficulty in keeping his attention alive. He had a great admiration for Shakespeare, even if he could not quite reach the same pitch of enthusiasm as his English master, who, to the amusement of his pupil, always spoke of "the divine William" as an *emanation!* In the study of German he made some advance, but Italian was his favourite European language; and as he contemplated a lengthened residence in Italy during the following year, his Italian tutor, Signor Montanari, accompanied him to Scotland, to continue his instruction. The Rev. Henry Estridge, an Oxford coach, was at the same time engaged as resident English tutor, and remained in that capacity, and as companion to the Maharajah.



Soon after coming to England, Sir John Login obtained from Lord Hardinge a commission in a Queen's regiment in India for Charles Boileau, and received from a member of the Court of Directors the promise of a cadetship for the other brother, Frank. He had thus the satisfaction of seeing both lads launched in the world under favourable auspices. Entering the Company's army, Frank Boileau* landed in India

* Now Lieut.-Colonel commanding the Mhairwarra Battalion.

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just before the Mutiny broke out, served at the siege of Delhi, where he was severely wounded, and was obliged to invalid home in 1859.

The Boileaus having left, Duleep Singh now found congenial companions in the young Leslie-Melvilles, sons of the Earl of Leven, who lived near him at Roehampton. With them he had constant intercourse, and greatly enjoyed their society, and that of other lads of his own age. Granard Lodge, the house at Roehampton, then occupied by the Maharajah, could only be got for six months, but Ashburton Court was afterwards secured for as long as he cared to live near London.

Young Tom Scott had come to England with his mother for his education some time before this, and was, later on, sent by Login to a tutor at Wimbledon, to prepare for the army. Mrs. Scott, after remaining two or three years in Europe, returned to India in 1856. Just before sailing, in December, she came down to Ashburton Court on a visit to her friends, and then Login undertook to see after her son, whom she was leaving behind her. He was enabled, through the kindness of Sir Henry Rawlinson, to procure him a commission in the Indian army.

Poor Mrs. Scott! Little did those who then bade her farewell dream of the awful death she was going forth to meet, and that her son, on following her to India, would be met on landing by the terrible announcement that his mother, brother, and sister,

were among the first victims of the outbreak of the mutiny in the vicinity of Lucknow!



Sir John was beset by requests from photographers and illustrated papers for permission to take Duleep Singh's likeness for publication; but this he always steadily refused, on the plea, that the Maharajah was in England for the purpose of study, and had no desire to court notoriety.

Besides the portrait by Winterhalter, the Queen ordered a bust of the Maharajah to be executed by Baron Marochetti, which, by Her Majesty's directions, was afterwards "*tinted*" by Mr. Millais, somewhat in the style which Gibson's "Venus" rendered so much in vogue at this period.*

Addiscombe was at this time the Military College of the East India Company, and the Maharajah having, at Login's suggestion, given a yearly prize to be competed for by the cadets, he was present, as the guest of the Governor (Sir Frederick Abbott), at the annual inspection and prize-giving, and was an interested spectator of the "sports," although neither then nor afterwards did he evince any special military tastes.

The close of the Crimean War brought to the notice of the public the hard case of many discharged soldiers, who had faithfully served their Queen and country,

* A bust of the Princess Victoria Gouramma of Coorg was treated in the same manner; they are both to be seen now in the gallery at Windsor.

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yet whose pension was insufficient to form their sole support, and whose wounds disabled them from earning their livelihood in any save the lightest forms of employment. Sir John Login was one of the first to urge their cause, and—before the Corps of Commissionaires was formed, of which he was one of the original promoters—he was the very first to set the example of employing these men in positions of trust, by taking into the Maharajah's service, in the year 1855, six of these wounded heroes as stablemen, house-porters, and gardeners.

One of them, Harry Naylor, a handsome young dragoon, had been in the famous "Balaclava Charge," and his appearance as a groom in the Maharajah's livery, his breast covered with medals, attracted much attention on the part of strangers.

At Castle Menzies the Maharajah received at different times many distinguished visitors,* and met with much kindness and attention from the neighbouring landowners, particularly the Marquis of Breadalbane and the Duke of Athole, whose acquaintance he had already made in town.

The friendly intercourse with Taymouth was a

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* Among these were most of the chief officials at the India House, viz., Sir James Hogg and his son Colonel Hogg (now Lord Magheramorne), Mr. Vernon Smith (Lord Lyveden), Sir James Melvill, Sir George Pollock (afterwards Field-Marshal), Sir Frederick Currie, Colonel Sykes, &c. . . . ., also Mr. Dudley Marjoribanks (Lord Tweedmouth), the Earl of Leven, Lord Hatherton, Mr. John Bright, Mr. Ellice, M.P, and many others.

pleasant feature of the sojourn at Castle Menzies. Lord Breadalbane (at that time Lord Chamberlain), entertained as his guests a constant succession of eminent personages, to many of whom the Indian Prince was an object of great interest; in this way, he met Archbishop Tait (then Bishop of London), the Bishop of Oxford (Samuel Wilberforce), Lord Clarendon, the Duke of Leeds, Mr. Delane, editor of the *Times*, Lord Bathurst, Lady Ailesbury, Lord and Lady Kintore, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. 

Great amusement was created at Castle Menzies on more than one occasion when the Duke of Athole's party arrived to luncheon, having driven all the way from Blair Athole, a distance of about fifteen miles, in the so-called "boat-carriage." It really consisted of a boat on wheels; and however convenient it might have been—as the Duke was fond of pointing out—for crossing rivers or lochs, it could scarcely be called an elegant equipage, or comfortable for a long journey.

The Duke of Athole persuaded the Maharajah to adopt the "kilt" for shooting on the moors, and undertook the ordering of one for him from his own tailor!

Seeing their master wearing the Highland dress, the ambition of several of the Maharajah's English servants was fired to exhibit themselves also in that becoming costume. Thornton, who had accompanied His Highness from India as his valet, often attended him on the moors wearing the kilt; but this fell far

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short of the ambition of Russell, the butler, who went in for a full-dress costume of the royal tartan, with sporran, silver ornaments, and all complete! Being a fine-looking man, no doubt he thought the result repaid him.

One evening at dinner, Lady —— asked Sir John what distinguished visitor had called at the Castle that afternoon? as she had been absent at Taymouth. He named several ladies, but Lady —— enquired if no *gentleman* had been there; because, she said, as she drove over the Weem Bridge, she met an aristocratic-looking stranger, in full Highland dress, evidently on his way to the Castle, and she was afraid that her admiration must have been expressed in her countenance, for he *actually blushed* as he gracefully doffed his cap! Both Sir John and the Maharajah had seen the person in question, and knew it to be Russell, who was at that moment filling the lady's glass with wine, which, in his trepidation, he managed to spill all over her and the table, and so created a diversion, under cover of which he effected his escape from the room!

Picnics were a great delight at this time; the house-party used to go out on the moor and meet the sportsmen at an appointed spot, where luncheon was spread. Ponies were allotted to the ladies, each led by a gillie, or groom, and it was very amusing to see the competition that went on to get the "Balaclava hero," Harry Naylor, as escort.

At one of these picnics, a renowned professor, who had come from London to teach the Maharajah botany, fell a victim to his ignorance of entomology; for, selecting a nice green grassy hummock as his seat at lunch, in the middle of the repast he suddenly precipitated himself with a yell into the centre of the table-cloth, knife and fork in hand, having discovered that he was sitting on an ant's nest all the while! Later in the afternoon the Professor was found testing the depth of the various pools in the neighbouring burn on his way home!

The Maharajah was able once more to indulge his passion for hawking, and his hawking-parties attracted much attention and curiosity, as the revival of an old sport now almost obsolete in Britain. John Barr, the well-known falconer, was in his service, and no expense was spared in securing first-rate falcons.

The small group of houses known as the "toun" of Weem lay just outside the gates of the park at Castle Menzies, and here was the parish kirk which the family and household attended every "Sabbath." The long sermons then usual in the Scottish kirk were rather a tax on Duleep Singh's patience, though his behaviour was most exemplary, even when the metrical Psalms were led off by the precentor, with the aid of a tuning-fork,—ostentatiously exhibited as if it were a species of musical instrument!—and though the situation was rather trying for him, when, after praying for the Queen and Royal Family, the old

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minister invariably added a petition, enumerating the particular graces he desired for "the Prince now sojourning amongst us."

An amusing incident occurred one Sunday at the Free Kirk, Aberfeldy, which some of the household were in the habit of attending in the afternoon.

The day was very sultry, and the congregation consequently rather somnolently inclined; especially was this the case with the Castle Menzies' servants, who were tired with their long, dusty walk. The text was from Acts xvi. 14—"Lydia, a seller of purple," and the voice of the minister, a noted preacher, acted on all as a soothing charm; when, perhaps, becoming aware of this fact, he suddenly thumped the pulpit cushion, and raising his voice, declaimed in stentorian tones, "And—Lydia—." Instantly, to the amazement of the preacher and congregation, a voice from the gallery replied, "Yes, Sir John!" while an unfortunate stillroom-maid, whose name happened to be Lydia, being observed at the same time standing erect in her pew and gazing round with bewilderment and consternation, revealed at once the fact that here was the author of this unseemly interruption, self-convicted of sleeping during the sermon!

The adulation paid to the young Prince at this time, especially by ladies, was not calculated to produce a beneficial effect upon him, though, to his credit be it said, he seemed to prefer the plain-

speaking, or honest censure, by which his friends sought to counteract such lavish and unwise flattery. There is no intention to portray Duleep Singh as a perfect character, or saint. He was surrounded by temptations of an unusual sort, yet had hitherto led a blameless life as regards morality. Some infirmities of temper, indolence, or selfishness, showed themselves with, perhaps, the Oriental tendency to be indifferent to suffering. Of the latter, an instance may be given:—

During the first shooting season at Castle Menzies, when the house was full of guests, there arose one evening at dinner much chaffing talk amongst the young men concerning a cat which had been shot, when discharging their guns near the village, on their way home. Sir John "hoped it was not a poor woman's pet." Duleep Singh "did not care if it were! It had no business there!"

Lady ——, a devoted admirer of the Maharajah, when enlarging afterwards in the drawing-room to the other ladies on his gentleness and amiability, undertook to prove her words, by dressing up in character as the poor woman who had lost her cat, in order to excite his compassion.

On the entry of the gentlemen, therefore, a poor, weeping woman was found in the billiard-room, "waiting to see His Highness." So pathetically did she relate the story of the loss of her favourite and only companion, her "puir cattie," that young

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Alick Lawrence, Sir Henry's son, was moved almost to tears, and, stepping forward, entreated her to "cry no more! it distressed him to think of the accident—would she accept ten shillings from him as a small compensation?" &c. This was not what Lady —— wanted, so she redoubled her efforts to gain some sign from the Maharajah.

He stood unmoved the while, save that his eyes blazed with anger. At last, losing patience, he burst out, shaking his billiard cue in her face, "Yes! cry, cry till you are tired! Don't let your brutes cross my path. Not a penny shall you get from me!" Then, laying no gentle hand on her arm, "*Begone*, I say!"

At this moment Lord ——, recognizing his wife, and thinking the joke had gone quite far enough, addressed her by name, and she, to the Maharajah's consternation, dropped her disguise, which had been so perfect that none had suspected it.

One of the few ladies present lately gave this account to Lady Login, who was herself an invalid at the time.

Possibly the contrast between his own conduct and that of young Lawrence might have been more apparent to Duleep Singh, had he not been assured by Lady ——, when he tried to apologize for his discourtesy, that she "had only admired his princely air of command," and felt "he was every inch a king when pointing her to the door," &c.

*Letter from* SIR HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.

MOUNT ABOO, *June 10th*, 1856.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Many thanks for the Maharajah, Lady Login's, and your kindness to my son Alick. I will be glad of your taking every opportunity to urge on Alick the necessity of exertion, at this period of his life. You have been accustomed to deal with youths, and might influence him much. He is very amiable, but unenergetic, I fancy, too, that in spite of all I have said, he does not realize the *need* for steady application. I am very anxious about him, soul and body! This is his time of trial, for he is surrounded by temptations, that nothing but the grace of God can protect him from. I shall be most grateful for any help you can give.

We have good accounts of Duleep Singh from different quarters; our friend Mr. Jay writes me, that he has received a very gratifying letter from him. I am sorry, on many accounts, that Mr. Jay refused the Chaplaincy of Kussowlee, even though a good man has got it. Mr. Jay now wishes to get a hill-station, on account of his child's health. I hope he may get Dugshaie. I am anxious to get good men of moderate temper near Mr. Parker, as fly-wheels on his energies. The asylum, now that the lower orphan school is added to it, will be an engine of great good. I have often been surprised that the Maharajah has never *himself* given me a rupee for it, especially as he must know *you* do.

You have made him give liberally to other Indian charities, but doubtless you have a delicacy as regards mine, from our personal friendship.

I should have thought that his kindly feelings towards me would have induced him. While he was in India, I did not feel justified in mentioning the subject to him, and even now I don't wish you to do more than show him the last report, and say that the Asylum is in debt.

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I have built a school here for fifty, and have twenty-three children always. I hope soon to have another at Neilgherries. With kindest love to Lady Login.

Ever yours affectionately,

HENRY M. LAWRENCE.

P.S.—I enclose a letter to the Maharajah.

The following year, Duleep Singh, having gone to the Highlands early in the season for salmon fishing, wrote from thence to his guardian :—

CASTLE MENZIES, *June 30th*, 1856.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I enclose in this a note for the Prince of Wales; will you kindly send it on?

I intended to write to you before, but there is little to write about. We are getting on pretty well with our housekeeping, and are all well. I did not catch a salmon, as I hoped, the day you left; but as soon as I catch one *myself*, it shall be sent straight to Lady Login, at Roehampton.

I commenced lessons seriously this morning with Mr. House, and hope to get on very well with him. I trust to hear that Lady Login, and all of you, continue to be quite well. When will Lady Login and the children come to Castle Menzies, for I begin to feel very lonely without them? I miss them dreadfully. I hope Hancock sent the things I ordered for the little one. With my love to the children.

I remain, yours affectionately,

DULEEP SINGH.

P.S.—Please bring the "Treasury of Histories" when you come. It was packed for India.

# CHAPTER XII.

## ITALY.

[Readers already satiated with descriptions of Italian travel are recommended to skip this chapter.]



As a tour on the Continent formed part of the scheme for the Maharajah's education, it was arranged that, previous to his return to India, he should spend some months in France and Italy. Accordingly, in December, 1856, he left England, accompanied by Sir John and Lady Login, and by his friend, Mr. Ronald Leslie-Melville (then an undergraduate of Christ Church, Oxon.), whom he had persuaded to join the party. To avoid publicity, and ceremonious receptions at the various foreign Courts, it was thought advisable that the Prince should travel as a private individual, under the name of "Mr. Login."

As the party travelled in the old-fashioned style, taking their own carriages with them from England, the following quotations, from a diary kept at this

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period, may prove amusing to those unfamiliar with the Italy of thirty years ago :—

CANNES, *Jan. 2nd*, 1857.

Made our first essay, at Marseilles, in travelling by post, in our own carriages, for there is no more rail after that place. You would have been amused to see the carriages starting—a long string of horses to each, and each postillion dressed differently; one only had any pretension to being smart, and he had jack-boots, a sheepskin coat, a conical hat with a flower in it, and a pipe in his mouth! We pitied him very much, for it was a hot day, and he must have been nearly boiled in that warm coat, after bumping up and down so long (for he did not rise in his stirrups like an English postillion). The horses are great, heavy, strong animals, all decorated with bells. The harness is wretched, and always breaking, being mostly of rope; the traces are *always* rope, and very insecure. One postillion manages four horses, sitting on one of the wheelers, and guiding those before with reins. We enjoyed the posting very much, and all got out and walked on through the villages, when we stopped to change horses. In the evening we reached Brignolles, our halting place; the cracking of the postillions' whips, as they come near their destination, is something astonishing; it is like a succession of pistol shots let off close to your ear. . . . .

Next day we ascended the Esterelles pleasantly, but our descent was not so comfortable. The view from the mountain, on going up, is beautiful, and, as the sun was setting, it looked to perfection. The waters of the Mediterranean were so bright and blue, the hill-sides covered with cork trees, pines, and olives, varied with jutting crags; deep ravines and frightful precipices (without any parapet) below us, with the bold outline of the mountain tops beyond, made a glorious panorama. At the post-house on the top we remained so long, owing to some delay about the horses

(on going down we had four horses only, though coming up we had ten), that the gentlemen walked on, and I was to follow in the carriage. It was nearly dark when at last we set out, and, to make up for lost time, the postillion set off at a hand-gallop, and I was very nearly upset over the precipice before he could pull up. When we overtook the gentlemen it was quite dark, and, as they got in, the postillion was warned to go carefully; but nevertheless, before long, the same thing happened again, and we were brought up *bump* against a post! In a minute we were all out, and the first thing we saw was Presanzini, the courier, and Thornton, thrashing the postillion, whom they had discovered to be drunk! Here was a nice dilemma! still five miles to the bottom, and no help near. We decided on leaving the drunken postillion behind, with Presanzini and Mr. Cawood (the Maharajah's secretary) in the *fourgon*, to wait till we sent a sober driver, and we took the lady's-maid in the rumble, with Thornton. Taking the sober postillion from the *fourgon*, we reached Cannes very late, for we had a further adventure with a jibbing horse, that seemed very anxious always to look in at the carriage windows, instead of going along quietly. . . . .

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A most amusing dinner party at the ——. The Maharajah would not go, but made some excuse of having a cold. Sir D. Brewster and the Anstruther-Thompsons were there.

A little girl, a niece of the hostess, was introduced at dessert. She had evidently heard of the Maharajah, and was very anxious to see him. She was talking to me in the evening, after dinner, whilst I was sitting beside her aunt, and when her aunt happened to express great regret that the Maharajah had not come, the little girl suddenly said, "*Is he really* a blackamoor? What *is* a blackamoor?" Her aunt looked perfectly horrified, and exclaimed, "What a vulgar expression! I am ashamed of you!" evidently thinking I must be greatly offended; and the child was seized on by the uncle and asked, "Whom she could have heard speak of the *Prince* in that manner?" With the utmost *naïveté*

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she at once replied, "Now, aunt, you know *you* said so this morning, to Miss Crow!"

Poor Mrs. —— looked so relieved when she heard me invite the little girl to pay me a visit in the morning to see the black Prince! The Maharajah was much amused when he heard the story, and made himself very agreeable to the little girl, who went home delighted.

We enjoyed our stay at Nice very much, as we had lovely summer weather. A picnic was arranged to Villafranca and St. Hospice, by Major Reynolds, in the Maharajah's honour, to which all the *élite* of Nice were invited; but the Maharajah had one of his obstinate fits, and it was with much difficulty we prevailed on him to go. He consented at last, with the stipulation that I would keep near him, and not leave him alone among all those strangers. He does so hate to be lionized, and be looked upon as a sort of natural curiosity! The excursion to Villafranca is usually made on donkeys, but as the Maharajah could never be persuaded to mount one of those animals, very good horses were provided for us. The ride there and back was beautiful; the first part of the way across the mountains, and the rest all along the shores of the Mediterranean, by a rocky footpath, overhanging the sea, just fit for donkeys, though we found our horses more sure-footed than the less noble animals ridden by the rest of the party. We were all very merry, particularly when entering Nice, on our way home, for a wicked little donkey-boy (who seemed to think I approved of the measure) would, every now and then, give a sort of scream, as a signal to the donkeys; on hearing which, the animals set off, helter-skelter, at a tearing pace. No matter who was riding them, lady or gentleman, there was no holding them! The ladies screamed, and several of the party, I believe, had tumbles from their "Jerusalem ponies" before we got up to them, owing to their falling on their knees scampering down hill; indeed, I saw one gentleman roll over his donkey's head—for the creatures would *halt* as suddenly as they started, with an abruptness calculated

to launch their riders into space! Being mounted on nobler steeds, who were deaf to the cries of the donkey-boy, we could survey the scene in safety ourselves, and the absurdity of it was altogether too much for the Maharajah's politeness, for, I regret to say, he went into such fits of laughter that he nearly tumbled off his horse himself! 

We were engaged to a large party at Lady Ely's in the evening. It was a great crowd. Several of the Empress of Russia's suite were there, for the Elys seem great friends with the Empress, though the rest of the English society here are very indignant at the airs the Russians give themselves. It is a great pity, there seems to be such a bad feeling between them, and it is difficult to say on whose side the fault lies. When the Empress came first, she used to go out in great state, with outriders preceding her, armed with long whips, which they cracked loudly, ordering every carriage to draw up to the side till Her Majesty passed. This several English refused to do, and complained of such overbearing conduct to the authorities; so, as it was feared that the place would suffer by the withdrawal of the English visitors (they having threatened to do so), Her Majesty was induced to adopt a quieter style, and now she drives about in a more unassuming manner. We met her returning from some church ceremony, attended by her Court ladies, all in *full* evening dress! She looked very ill and delicate. The Grand-Duchess Helen was expected this evening, but could not leave the Empress, who was unwell.

I met several old acquaintances here, amongst others, Lady William Harvey, who was our neighbour on Putney Heath. Lady Ely introduced me to Lady Dufferin, and young Lord Dufferin, who is one of Her Majesty's Lords-in-Waiting. He was very amusing, and I cannot quite make out whether his pretty lisp is real or affected! *

* Little did the Maharajah dream, on this occasion, that a day would come when he should stand arrested as a disaffected subject, by order of this same Lord Dufferin, then Viceroy of India!

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. . . . Expected to have found John Bright at Mentone, as Mr. E. Ellice, M.P., had told us Mr. Bright was looking out for us, at his desire, but he had not arrived.

GENOA, *Jan.* 19*th*. Sir John slipped down some steps at the Hôtel de la Ville, from the slipperiness of the marble, so, to guard against evil effects, is to keep quiet for a day. We have, therefore, given up the idea of going to see Turin from here, thinking it will be better to do so on the return journey.

*Jan.* 20*th*. Put off our departure, as Sir John did not feel quite recovered. John Bright having come in to spend an hour or two with him and talk politics, the Maharajah, Ronald Melville, and I set off to visit the Fieschi Convent, on the hill above Genoa. It was very interesting, and amusing also, as we were escorted by two nuns (neither of them young nor pretty), and shown all over the place; they seemed charmed to have a chat with our *laquais de place*, and entered into any joke that was made by us with great glee. We saw their dinner laid out, and a small decanter of wine for each nun; they laughed heartily when we said we *hoped* they did not drink all their allowance! Their dormitories looked very clean and airy, but no washhand-stands were visible, only a little pump of water outside the door in the corridor! Their pillows were like pin-cushions, and I wish you had heard them laugh when the Maharajah asked how they managed bolstering-matches with them, he and Ronald illustrating what he meant, to the nuns' intense delight!

We also went to see the famous Catina, or emerald dish, kept at the Duomo, and said to have been presented to King Solomon by the Queen of Sheba. The Maharajah was very anxious to examine it, having been told it was the largest emerald in the world; and being exceedingly proud of the size and lustre of his own (the emeralds of Runjeet Singh were celebrated), he was, therefore, immensely relieved to find that it was only a piece of green glass after all. . .

FLORENCE. Florence is famed for its flowers and flower-girls; the latter mostly large, coarse, good-natured-looking *contadine*, who all wear enormous Leghorn hats flapping about their faces. They are most persevering in their attentions, and *will* decorate you with a bouquet *per force*, though, as they always *wait to be paid*, their attentions are not quite so disinterested as strangers at first imagine! I used to laugh heartily at the way they victimized both the Maharajah and Sir John.

We drove to the Cascine, or dairy of the Grand-Duke; on the way we met the Grand-Duke himself, and his suite; also the young Grand-Duke, and his bride. We had the use of Lord Normanby's (the English Ambassador) box at the Pergola, and went three times; the music was good, but the singing and acting very poor. That, however, does not matter to the Florentines, as they merely go to the opera to pay visits to their friends, as we do at their houses, during the day, in England. The first time we went to hear a new opera, called *Violetta*, which the Maharajah had never heard; by the time it was half over, we discovered it to be the *Traviata*, under a different name! and we had always refused *on principle* to hear the *Traviata* in England! The other two were *La Sonnambula* and *Linda di Chamouni*. On Saturday we had a pleasant dinner-party at Lord Normanby's, and heard a good deal of singing afterwards. We met all the diplomatic "swells" there—Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, the French Ambassador, the Piedmontese, Duc de L——, also the Tuscan Prime Minister, and Baron Hügel. Maria Phipps and her son were there also.

One evening, when we were dining at the Embassy, the great bell of the Duomo began to toll. Immediately a Florentine nobleman, who was of the company, rose from the table, and with a word of apology to the hostess, quietly left the room. The rest of the assemblage seemed to regard his action as the most natural in the world, but the Maharajah was very curious to know the reason for it. "He is one of the Misericordia

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Brothers," was the reply to his question; "and he is on duty to-night." After that we heard more about the Misericordia, and several times met their procession in the streets, carrying litters with sick people, going to the hospital. They look ghastly in the extreme, with their long black dresses, which cover them from head to foot, having round holes for the eyes. The people hold them in great respect; and when they pass, all uncover their heads.

The Society is composed of noblemen and gentlemen of Florence, and the Grand Duke himself is one, though, since the Revolution, he has not ventured to take any part in the duties. They dress in black monastic attire, with a black silk visor to conceal their face; a certain number are told off daily for duty, and on the tolling of the city bell—whatever is their employment or engagement—they must hasten to their guard-room, and assume the dress, and go out to perform their duty, whatever it may be—whether to carry sick to the hospital, or to rescue sufferers from any danger or accident. So many are appointed to go forth collecting for their charity fund, and the first person I saw on arriving, was one of them holding a box for charity. I was quite startled—he looked like a demon in his dark dress, with his eyes flashing through the holes in his visor. . . . .

ROME. I was delighted with the Coliseum, and I think I should like to spend hours there. Nothing in Rome, I think, recalls the idea of former grandeur and present decay more than that magnificent pile, so full of historical interest. Inside, all around the amphitheatre, they have erected "stations" for pilgrims to walk or crawl round, for penance and indulgences, and there is a great cross put up, and a pulpit, where a friar preaches frequently. All this is incongruous-looking, and I wish it were altered. . . . . Just as we left the Coliseum, the Pope (Pio Nono) drove past in a carriage and four, with an escort of the Guarda Nobile, formed of Roman nobles. He is a very benevolent-looking old gentleman, and gave a special benediction to our party as he passed, though the Maharajah did not receive it at all

ih a proper spirit, and declared the Pope had only made "snooks" at him! We were told that we were very lucky, as he is not often to be seen out. The guard of French soldiers all knelt as he passed, and so did everybody but ourselves; of course, the gentlemen took off their hats to him, as they would to our Queen. . . . . Chapter XII. 1856-57.

The moon being full, Ronald returned to the Coliseum, to see it by moonlight; as I have still a cough, I did not venture. We advised him not to fall into the same mistake as is attributed to Mr. Macaulay, the historian,* who also went to see the Coliseum by moonlight, and when in the shadow of the arches, was suddenly jostled by a man, who passed with great rapidity. Immediately afterwards Mr. Macaulay missed his watch! The "thief" was still in view; with great presence of mind, Mr. Macaulay at once gave chase, overtook, knocked him down, and repossessed himself of the stolen article. Fearing the arrival of accomplices on the scene, Mr. Macaulay now made the best of his way home, where the first object that met his view was *his own watch*, safe in the spot where he had left it before going out! Overwhelmed with the idea of the robbery which he had committed, he rushed off to the police-office, to find an unfortunate stranger describing with much excitement the shameful outrage of which he had been the victim!

*Feb. 12th.* Went to St. John Lateran. The "Santa Scala," or Holy Staircase, was crowded with penitents, going up on their knees, repeating a prayer at every step. Nothing would serve the Maharajah, but he must also try the sensation of this form of penance, which he declared was not at all difficult, and he would undertake to do it much faster than any of them! The steps are covered with planks, to preserve them from the wear of the pilgrims' knees, and these planks have already been renewed

* The late Lord Macaulay.

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three times; the steps themselves, are said to have been those of Pilate's judgment seat, down which Christ walked after being condemned. We visited Macdonald's studio, and saw a number of busts (mostly of English nobility), and a fine copy of "Young Augustus"; we ended by going to Saolini, the great cameo-cutter, and arranged to have our profiles taken by him, next day.

*Feb.* 13*th.* Mr. Gibson showed us his studio to-day, and we were delighted with all we saw. His "Venus" is beautiful; the hair is tinted in imitation of ancient Greek statues, and the skin has a faint life-like glow. The "Cupid" also is very lovely. I admired his bust of the Queen, but, though the large statue for the Houses of Parliament is greatly admired, I did not think the likeness was so good. There was a beautiful thing there, "The Sleeping Cenci in Prison," just finished by his pupil, Miss Hosmer, a young American lady. Arranged with Mr. Gibson about sittings for the Maharajah's bust.

*Feb.* 14*th.* To-day, shortly after noon, the great bell of St. Peter's tolled to announce the beginning of the Carnival, and at two p.m. we went to the Corso, and sat in our hired balcony to see the procession pass. It is a very gay scene, and full of animation. The whole street is choked with people in gay and fancy costumes, shouting and laughing, leaving barely space for the brightly decorated carriages, filled with people, all attired in fancy dresses, and having on wire masks, who pass up and down slowly. The balconies and windows are full of ladies and gentlemen, and gay with flags and draperies of all colours; each person has a store of chalk *bon-bons* or *confetti*, bouquets of flowers, and real *bon-bons*, which they fling at every passer-by; the balconies throwing at the carriages, and *vice versâ*. Every one wears a wire mask, or runs the risk of being blinded by the chalk dust; even with a mask one does not escape scatheless. Every now and then, gay processions of the military, civic authorities, or cardinal-

magistrates varied the scene, and the whole was wound up by a race of six or more horses (without riders), goaded on by steel plates hanging loose all over their bodies, and stuck full of sharp spikes, which flapped about as they gallopped, and urged them almost to madness. This race is repeated each day of the Carnival, and formerly used to be run by poor unhappy Jews, for the amusement of the people! but of late years they have purchased exemption from this degradation, by paying for handsome prizes, for the owners of the fortunate horses. Chapter XII. 1856-57.

The Maharajah and Ronald joined the procession of carriages, and went up and down, pelting and being pelted by gentlemen, and exchanging bouquets with ladies; but I contented myself with looking on.

*Sunday, Feb. 15th.* . . . . On our return from the English service, we went with John Bright into San Carlo, to hear Dr. Manning preach* on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and were glad to find that his arguments and reasoning were so miserable. I expected to hear much more specious reasoning. He gave several very far-fetched interpretations to several texts, to give colour to his own side of the question. Poor man! he certainly seems very earnest in his belief himself; he looks worn-out with penance and fasting, and his voice is quite weak. It was quite lost in that great church. He is evidently a trap set for the English and American visitors, who are all attracted by his eloquence and good style of delivery.

*Feb. 17th.* Rather sleepy after last night's ball at the Princess

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*. . . . Dr. Manning is to preach to-morrow afternoon in the church of San Carlo, perhaps Lady Login and yourself, may wish to hear him—he will not, I suspect, overthrow your Presbyterianism, any more than the faith I hold with the Society of Friends!

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN BRIGHT.

*Feb. 14th*, 1856.

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Doria's. It was a grand sight, and a rare one, for the magnificent picture-gallery was lighted up, and many splendid rooms. There were a great many royalties there—the reigning King of Bavaria, Queen Christina of Spain and her daughters, and, I believe, "Henri Cinq," Comte de Chambord—though I did not see him. We were introduced to the Princess Doria, she is one of our Shrewsbury family.

The Caldwells, and John Bright, with his pretty daughter Helen, have just dined with us, and gone home early, as is the good custom in Rome. We were a merry party, Mr. Bright very eloquent about the *wrongs* of India, to the Maharajah's infinite amusement! and Colonel Caldwell giving us histories of what was done in Lord Wellesley's, and Lord W. Bentinck's time! I have promised John Bright to go out with him in the carriage to-morrow, and run the gauntlet up and down the Corso. His daughter is very anxious to do so.

*Feb.* 18*th.* Went for an hour in the carriage with Mr. Bright, as agreed upon. We were deluged with bouquets and bon-bons, and all sorts of harmless missiles, and thumped with distended bladders. Poor Helen Bright had to mourn the loss of a lovely bouquet of sweet violets, just presented to her by a gentleman, which was snatched out of her hand, by a laughing imp of an Italian boy. Her father scolded her for not having kept a tighter hold; but next minute the laugh was turned against him, for his own bouquet was snapped away out of his hand as he was in the very act of presenting it to a lady!

*Feb.* 10*th.* Went out on the Campagna, near Cecilia Metella's tomb, to see the hounds throw off. We managed to keep up with them *in the carriage*, by going at a hand-gallop along the Appian Way, as the fox doubled back and forward across the road. We were just in front of the King of Bavaria's carriage, and his people were calling to ours, to make way for His Majesty. But this did not at all fall in with the ideas of our

coachman, whose sense of his own importance would not suffer him to give place to anybody; so whipping up his horses he kept the "lead" throughout the chase!

*Feb. 20th.* The masque ball was a very curious sight. We engaged a box at the theatre, so as to look down upon it without being crushed, and were constantly invaded there by parties of ladies and gentlemen of our acquaintance, all in masks and dominoes. It is ridiculous what a complete disguise a domino is, for Fred Kane and Ronald, who were of our own party, left us, and came in again, and we never knew them, and Sir Norton Knatchbull never recognized his own wife!

Mr. Bright was in our balcony that morning, looking on at the Carnival, and got into a combat with Lady Knatchbull, on the opposite side of the street. She got the worst of it, for "the Quaker" made a capital shot with a sugar-almond, which effectually silenced the enemy's guns! As she was an utter stranger to him, we had to introduce him at the masque ball, in order that he might make his apologies for the result of his combativeness!

*25th, Ash Wednesday.* At half-past eight, Ronald, Sir John, and I, started for the Sixtine Chapel, to see the Pope put ashes on the cardinals' heads. We could not persuade the Maharajah to go with us, as he declared, when he went to bed the night before, that now the Carnival was over, he did not know when he would get up again! As ladies must dress in mourning to gain admittance to this ceremony, I wore a long black veil instead of a bonnet; Sir John his political uniform, and Ronald full evening dress!

We got there a few minutes before the door was opened, and were greatly amused to see the anxiety of those assembled to get in *first*, though there was plenty of room for all. One very fat lady was sitting on the doorstep, in such a way that the door

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could not be opened till she rose.* She looked as if she had sat there all night—her hair and veil were so untidy!

I was separated from the gentlemen, as men and women are not allowed to sit together,—and Sir John, from his uniform, being supposed to be *at least* an ambassador—I was handed into the large pew, specially set apart for the ambassadors' wives. It was empty, and remained so all the time. (I suppose the ambassadors are all bachelors.) During the service I observed the ambassadors all highly amused at seeing the solitary lady who represented their womankind, and each seemed to ask the other who on earth I was? Sir John was asked to go in among the ambassadors, but declined, and went with Ronald to a less conspicuous place. It was lucky he did so, for every one of the ambassadors present had to go and kiss the Pope's toe afterwards! . . . .

At last the procession of cardinals came in, with their attendants; and after their robes (or rather the skirts of them) had been unrolled and smoothed down, they were assisted up into their perches, and displayed to our admiring gaze a collection of as heavy, sensual, worldly-looking countenances (with only one or two exceptions) as could anywhere be found.

Soon after, in came the Pope—a fine-looking old man—with a great crowd of officials, the most important being a bishop in golden boots—of which portion of his attire he appeared very proud—and whose privilege it seemed to be to take the Pope's mitre off and put it on again at intervals of about five minutes. Six or eight people were kept constantly occupied, in assisting the Pope to get up, sit down, kneel, turn to the altar, and bow, at different parts of the service. The Pope chanted the service beautifully; he has a splendid, clear voice. The cardinals changed their robes frequently, and when the time came for them to go up to be sprinkled with ashes, they put white napkins on their backs, and *over* that grand gold vestments, and went up, one after another, holding their little scarlet skull-caps in their

hands. The Pope put the ashes on the crown of each head, just on the tonsure, and then they kissed his hand, still kneeling. After the last cardinal had retired to his place, the King of Bavaria advanced and went through the same ceremony—save that he, and all those who followed, had to kiss the Pope's *toe* instead of his hand; then came Queen Christina's husband, and all the big-wigs and ambassadors. It was rather a shock to one's feelings, remembering the original meaning of this solemn ceremonial, to see how, as soon as the Duke returned to her side, the Queen of Spain, assisted by the Princesses, at once set to work—amid much smothered laughter—to blow at his hair, and dust off his clothes all traces of the ashes, using for the purpose their own handkerchiefs, and also a clothes-brush, with which they had come ready provided! This occupation, and the merriment it caused, lasted them throughout the remainder of the service. Meanwhile, the stream of people continued to pass up and back, till nearly everybody in the church, including the soldiers, had been sprinkled by the "Holy Father," and it was not till one o'clock that all was over, and we returned to the Hôtel de Londres thoroughly tired.

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*Feb.* 26*th.* Mr. Gibson took us round to see all the principal studios, and pointed out the beauties of each work of art. We visited, amongst others, the *ateliers* of Mr. Spence, Mr. Penry Williams, Signor Tenerani, the great Italian sculptor, Wolff, the German one, and Miss Chawner.

*Feb.* 28*th.* We had an amusing party last evening. Sir Charles Nicholson, Mr. Gibson, and Mr. and Miss Bright dined with us. There was a great deal of table-rapping, and Sir Charles gave a most interesting account of Egypt, where he has lately been travelling. This evening we dined at Colonel Caldwell's, and met a large party, amongst whom were the Baron von Orlich and his wife. The Baron recognized Sir John

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as an old acquaintance, having met him in India, some years ago, when on his travels there.

*March 2nd.* Baron von Orlich kindly got us permission to see the Etruscan Museum of the Marchese Campana, and escorted us to see it. This evening was fixed for a treat to which we have long been looking forward.

As a special compliment to the Maharajah, the Pope gave orders, to have the sculpture galleries of the Vatican lighted up with *flambeaux* for his inspection, and we were permitted to invite a select company of our friends to enjoy, at the same time, this unique opportunity of viewing the statuary, under such favourable conditions. A man with a torch was stationed behind each statue, while Mr. Gibson and Mr. Macdonald gave us a sort of art-lecture, showing the special points in each figure and their relative degrees of beauty. We enjoyed it all very much, and it has added greatly to the interest and usefulness to the Maharajah, of this visit to Rome. For this special favour from "His Holiness" we are, of course, indebted to the good offices of Mr. Odo Russell, the representative here of the British Government.

*March 7th.* Visited the Quirinal Palace, which is the Pope's summer residence; saw his private apartments, and a few good pictures.

*March 9th.* Went to a party in the evening at Mr. Forbes', the clergyman's, house, and met Mrs. Beecher Stowe. Had a long conversation with her, and found her agreeable and amusing; altogether a younger and more pleasing person than I had imagined.

*March 11th.* Took the Brights to Tivoli with us for a picnic, and spent a delightful day. Spread our luncheon on the grass, in the gardens of the Villa d'Este, and in the basin of a dried-up fountain, in the centre of which was a stone galley, the Maharajah seated himself to personate Neptune, as he informed

the company, though he was too much engaged with a game-pie to spare much time for flourishing his fork as "trident!" After luncheon we started to see the waterfalls, Miss Bright and I mounted on respectable ponies, the gentlemen walking. We enjoyed our five-mile ride exceedingly, though I think the gentlemen found it very hot, for I observed the Maharajah toiling along with his coat off, in his shirt-sleeves! On our way home we nearly met with an accident. The two "politicians" (Mr. Bright and Sir John) were too deep in discussion on the present condition of India, its needs, and its future government, for any one to dream of separating them; so we left them to follow by themselves in one carriage, whilst Miss Bright, the Maharajah, Ronald, and I, went on in the other. The two young men were in high spirits, and were making a great noise in the carriage; something went wrong with the harness, and the coachman got down to put it right, when either the voices, or something else, startled the horses, and off they dashed, leaving the coachman behind on the road! We were only saved from imminent peril by Ronald's agility, in clambering on to the box and getting hold, somehow, of the reins.

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*March* 12*th*. Left Rome on a lovely morning, and travelled along the Appian Way, on our road to Naples; our route having been carefully and minutely made out for us, by kind Baron von Orlich, so that we might not miss any of the points of interest. We had no adventures with brigands, the line of road is so well patrolled, by both horse and foot soldiers, and there are military stations at short intervals, all along to Molo de Gaeta.

*March* 14*th*. . . . . It was dark when we reached the gates of Naples, and as the hotel was a long way off, we were very weary of dragging through the streets at a foot's-pace, for travelling carriages are forbidden by law to go any faster in the streets. At last we reached the Hôtel Vittoria, and, after a late dinner, got to bed.

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From Naples the party visited Pompeii and Herculaneum, and ascended to the crater of Vesuvius.

*March 20th.* Dined at the Stranges', and met some nice Italian families. We were much taken with the young Marchesa Bugnano, and her husband and mother-in-law. The Dowager Marchesa is an Irish Roman Catholic—a sensible old lady, who treated Sir John to all the politics of Naples. Her son, the Marchese, is quite a Neapolitan, having been educated on the Continent; yet he is a great admirer of England and English liberty, and speaks English very well. His pretty wife is a fascinating creature, the daughter of one of the Neapolitan princes. She is very lively and amusing.

I was also introduced to Captain Farquhar, R.N. He commands the frigate lying off this port, to protect the English inhabitants in case of any outbreak. He told me he knows several of my sailor cousins, and had been Flag-Lieutenant to my uncle, Admiral Patrick Campbell, at the Cape of Good Hope.

Naples was left on the 24th March, and the party proceeded by steamer to Leghorn, calling at Civita Vecchia on the way. Stopping for one day in Florence, they went to Bologna, having had some difficulty in crossing the Appenines, for an avalanche of snow had carried away great part of the road, thus rendering it impassable for horses. The travellers were obliged to get out and walk, and bullocks were procured to drag the carriages over this part; during this operation the pole of the *fourgon* snapped, which caused a further delay. At Padua they joined the railway again, and so reached Venice by the first of April.

*April 4th.* . . . . We saw two *live* horses, belonging to the Austrian General, being exercised on the Campo Marto, followed about by a crowd of admiring boys. It seems that, a few years ago, some of the Venetian gentlemen, anxious to teach their daughters to ride, united together, built a riding-school, and made a ride round a small island in the town. When, however, the horses arrived, they were looked upon by the inhabitants as a show—very few of the people ever having seen one; and at last the whole project had to be abandoned, owing to the noise and excitement of the children, hurrahing and shouting after the riders, so as to render the horses quite unmanageable from fright.

*Monday, April 13th.* Since last Monday we have been very anxious about Ronald, who has been very ill of gastric fever. To-day, however, I am thankful to say, we have been able to send a message, by telegraph, to his mother, to tell her that the fever has left him, and that he is now doing well. In consequence of this, I have been only able to go on the water now and then, as I could not leave Ronald, except for a short time daily.

There was a grand military funeral the other day—such a display of troops, and firing of cannon, under our windows, when they were all drawn up! I was glad, for poor Ronald's sake, when it was all over! The hearse was a gondola, and the procession on the water was very curious and interesting. Our *laquais* told us we were very *lucky* to have been here to see such a *gay* funeral! There will be some more of this *gaiety* soon, for the bells have been ringing to announce the death of the Bishop, or Cardinal, who has been long ill.

On Easter-day I went into St. Mark's, to see the Arch-Duke go in procession to high mass. It was a curious ceremony. The Arch-Duke Maximilian (afterwards Emperor of Mexico), brother of the Emperor, is Viceroy of Italy; he is a fair-haired, simple-looking youth, and appeared rather nervous during the ceremony, and very glad when all was over, without any open mani-

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festation of hatred on the part of the Venetians to their Austrian masters.

The Maharajah has kindly fed the pigeons of St. Mark's daily, and now they know him, and follow him all over the town!

The Brights arrived on Easter-day, having been detained in Rome by Miss Bright getting measles; they came and dined with us last evening, also Major and Mrs. Young, from the Punjab. The Mararajah felt unwell just before dinner, and Sir John made him take a hot bath, and go to bed. I hope he is not going to take fever. This morning he is better, though not well, and we have resolved, as he seems nervous about remaining in Venice, that, if he is well enough, he shall go on to Padua, or Milan, on Thursday, in my charge, leaving Sir John to follow with Ronald. I am in hopes, however, that Ronald will be strong enough to go also, on Thursday.

PADUA, *April 15th.*

The Maharajah not being at all well, and Ronald better, we thought it wiser to get away from Venice at all risks: so here they are—and they both seem, so far, none the worse for the short trip of one hour by train. We had Ronald carried in a chair; but the Maharajah was able to walk, though far from well. We hope they may be able to go on to Verona to-morrow.

We left Venice so suddenly, that all our clothes were at the wash, and as Thornton and Mrs. Sandison were needed to attend on the invalids, we could only spare Mr. Cawood to remain behind, and bring on the remainder of our luggage. It appears it is a rule of the Austrian railway authorities never to allow a man to take any clothes belonging to a woman out of the town, unless there is a woman in his company, and *vice versâ*, a woman is not permitted to travel with any man's-clothes among her baggage. We were all, of course, quite ignorant of this regulation, and so, when poor Mr. Cawood innocently showed our boxes at the Custom-house, he was horrified to find himself at once treated as a suspicious character by the police, for having so large a quantity

of clothes in his possession, more than they thought could possibly belong to one man alone! Their suspicions were confirmed, on the further discovery, that a great portion of his luggage consisted of *ladies'* habiliments, and as, when questioned as to whether there was any *lady* with him, he told them, quite innocently, that there was *not*, the affair began to wear a serious aspect for him! He tried his best to explain the position to them, and how it happened that he was found in possession of other people's clothes —but all to no purpose. They could not make out half he said, and thought he was declaring the clothes to be his own; to his consternation and wrath, they then proceeded to pull about my things—flourishing a smart lace cap in his face and asking, "if he wore *that?*"—and, shaking out one of my nicely starched and frilled petticoats, sarcastically inquired whether "*this* were a usual article of his attire?" After this they formally arrested him as a thief escaping with stolen property! and would have put him then and there in "durance vile," only that he begged that the landlord of our hotel should first be sent for. On this man vouching for his respectability, poor Mr. Cawood was suffered to *return* with him *to Venice* (the landlord being made answerable for his safe keeping), and the clothes were detained until next day, when Presanzini was sent to claim them, and satisfied the Austrian police as to the truth of Mr. Cawood's story.

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*April 16th.* Still at Padua, and likely to be for some time, as the Maharajah had regular intermittent fever last night, and now we must let him and Ronald rest here. It is a good thing we have got them out of Venice; this is a tidy, clean town, and we have good medical advice, and excellent rooms at the Hotel de l'Etoile d'Or.

BRESCIA, *April 20th.* We came here by train from Padua, to-day. The patients are both very weak, particularly Ronald. I only hope they may not be stopped here for more than this night, for

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it is a very uncomfortable sort of place; the stables being directly under our sleeping and eating rooms, causes a most unpleasant odour to pervade the whole, which cannot be very wholesome for sick people.

MILAN, *April 22nd.* Dr. Cappelli says that Ronald may be laid up for six weeks, as he has got miliary fever on the top of gastric (a common sequel to Venice fever in this unpleasant country). The Maharajah has also felt ill to-day, and is laid up —so matters are not very bright! We have thought it advisable to telegraph to Roehampton, and tell them how things stand with Ronald. He would like his mother to join him, I think.

*April 28th.* Mr. and Mrs. Melville,* with their old nurse, arrived last night, having travelled night and day; they reached us on the fourth day after leaving Roehampton.

TURIN, *May 2nd.* Reached Turin last evening. Baron Solaroli found us out, and came and spent the evening with us. Sir John knew him in India; he married a sister of Dyce Sombre's, and, of course, has got lots of money with her. He is a very intelligent, gentlemanly man.

*3rd May, Sunday.* Went to English service, held in a private house by a converted Jew; it was very strange to hear the prayers and sermon given in English by a foreigner, with a strong accent.

Sir James Hudson, the Ambassador, called to offer his services, and also Mr. Erskine, Lady Wiltshire's brother. Baron Solaroli came, with his daughter, a pretty young woman, newly married to Count ——. The Baron will bring his wife to meet us at the train to-morrow, as she is not well, and could not come to call.

Next day the party crossed Mont Cenis, into Savoy.

*The late Earl and Countess of Leven and Melville.

At St. Michel, where they slept, the inn could only furnish eight trout and six eggs, for the party of seven famishing folk! Luckily they had with them some hermetically-sealed soup for the Maharajah and a cold chicken; and, as they always travelled with a supply of English tea, they did not do so badly.

Geneva was reached on the 6th of May. Here they made a halt of five days, before starting on their homeward route. They made several excursions on the lake, and revelled in that glorious Alpine scenery. They had also the pleasure of making the acquaintance of many members of that cultured society, which has rendered Geneva so famous in the religious world, and among men of letters; this privilege they owed, in great measure, to Sir John's previous acquaintance with M. Merle d'Aubigné, who was on the look-out for him, and to the kindness of Lord Shaftesbury and the Rev. Henry Venn, who had written of Login to their friends in that city.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## The Mutiny.

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The annexation of the kingdom of Oude, which took place in the previous year, was an event in which the Maharajah naturally took the deepest interest, as it was the first case of the deposition of an Indian sovereign which could in any way be compared with his own;* and the handsome terms offered to this "discrowned debauchee,"† by Lord Dalhousie, were a hopeful augury of the liberal interpretation which the Indian Government was prepared to place upon the treaty forced upon himself in 1849.

Captain Trotter thus describes the causes which led to this annexation :—

‡ "Ever since Lord Hardinge's visit to Lucknow, in 1847, the affairs of Wajid Ali's kingdom had been steadily declining from

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* Though, even in this instance, Wajid Ali had never been an independent king, like the Maharajah of Lahore, and he was deprived of his crown for his own malpractices as a ruler.

† Trotter.

‡ Trotter, "*India under Victoria*," p. 317, ch. x., vol. i.

bad to worse. In that green garden and teeming granary of India, every man did that which was right in his own eyes, from the King himself, amidst his fiddlers, buffoons, and dancing girls, down to the humblest followers of his Court. The two years of grace allowed to the royal debauchee passed by, and, in 1849, the Resident, Colonel Sleeman, reported no change for the better, nor any hope of such change, whether in the King's own conduct, or in the general state of things in Oude. . . . . The King's favourite fiddler was made Chief Justice, and a singer acted as Vazir for a King who never troubled himself about public affairs. In short, there was no such thing as government, law, or justice throughout the land. Such was the state of things reported by Sleeman, in 1851, and such, or even worse, did his successor, Colonel James Outram, find in 1855." Chapter XIII. 1857.

Small marvel was it, therefore, that the two men should unite in petitioning the Governor-General to put an end to this condition of affairs by "enforcing his treaty rights against a dynasty which in fifty years had broken all its pledges again and again," and besought him to "assume the government of a country whose native rulers had long proved their unfitness."

In response, Lord Dalhousie laid before his Council a minute, unfolding his plans for the future government of Oude. "His chief design therein was to show the utter disregard evinced by the Oude princes to the treaty of 1801, which bound them to 'govern well and justly, and *always to advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsels* of the officers of the Honourable East India Company.'" On referring the question to the Court of Directors, a reply was sent out in November, 1855, which reached India in January, and was construed by Dalhousie into a direct order to annex; in accordance with which instructions, Outram, on the 4th February, appeared before Wajid Ali, the bearer of a letter from the Governor-General, and with the draft of a treaty for signature.

The new treaty declared that "the sole and exclusive adminis-

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tration of the civil and military government of the territories of Oude shall henceforth be vested for ever in the Honourable East India Company, together with full and exclusive rights to the revenues thereof. For Wajid Ali himself, and his heirs, was reserved the title of King, with full sovereign rights over the palace at Lucknow, and park at Dilkusha, a yearly pension of twelve lakhs (£120,000), with three more lakhs for his body-guard,* and due provision for all the members of his family."

But these, or any terms, Wajid Ali refused to sign; he submitted to his fate, but preferred to retain a right of protest.

Delaying the execution of his orders till the 7th of February, on which day a short note from the King confirmed his previous resolution of refusal to ratify any treaty, Outram issued a proclamation of Lord Dalhousie's, declaring the annexation of Oude an accomplished fact. As Chief Commissioner, he took over formal charge, despatched civil commissioners to their stations, and marched in British troops; no resistance was offered from any quarter. "Over the whole face of things there stole a change as complete as any produced by the shifting slides of a magic-lantern. . . . . Neither in India nor in England were many voices raised, at the time, against a measure which the great Proconsul had carried through, less in accordance with his own ideas, than with the virtual commands of Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row.† By refusing to sign the new treaty, Wajid Ali had pronounced the doom of a dynasty which had reigned only by British sufferance ever since Sir John Shore had

* This body-guard, composed of Seedees (pure black Africans, or Soudanese), was the King's pet hobby. Their uniform was most gorgeous, and immense sums were lavished on their equipment. Wajid Ali was continually devising new uniforms for them; and, at every grand review, they would appear, attired from head to foot, in an entirely fresh colour; so that one day they might be seen all in blue, *even to their boots*, and on another occasion transformed into green grasshoppers, or yellow butterflies!

† Trotter, vol. i. p. 321.

displaced the son of Asaf-ud-daula by a ruler of his own choice. . . . . Few people questioned the right of the Paramount Power to enforce against a refractory vassal the treaties which he and his forefathers had steadily broken for so many years past." Chapter XIII. 1857.

Even the *outside* amount offered to the Maharajah Duleep Singh, of *five* lakhs of rupees yearly, "for the support of himself, his relatives, and servants of the State" (with which, however, he was quite satisfied), looks rather meagre beside this *fifteen* lakhs (£150,000) per annum, destined for the King of Oude and his amusements alone!—*other* due provision being made for the members of his family.

Before proceeding to Italy, in 1856, the Maharajah wrote the following letter:—

*To the* CHAIRMAN *and* DEPUTY CHAIRMAN *of the* HON. COURT OF DIRECTORS *of the* EAST INDIA COMPANY.

CLARIDGE'S HOTEL, *Dec. 9th*, 1856.

GENTLEMEN,

Having now attained an age at which, according to the laws of India, I am entitled to assume the management of my own affairs, and being anxious, before my intended departure for India, in October next, to have everything relating to my future position clearly defined and settled, I have to request the favour of you, at your earliest convenience, to bring the subject to the notice of the Hon. Court of Directors, in order that sufficient

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time may be afforded for such reference to the Governor-General in Council as may be required.

In taking the subject of my future settlement into consideration, I hope that the circumstances in which I have been placed under the protection of the British Government, may receive due attention.

Having at the early age of ten years been required to resign the throne of the Punjab, and, with the advice and approval of my then ministers and guardians, to accept the terms offered to me by the Government of India, I readily consented, believing the conditions to be as fair and liberal as under the circumstances could be obtained.

Although I still consider them to be such as my ministers and guardians were justified in recommending me to accept, and very gratefully acknowledging that the kind and liberal consideration which I have experienced from the Government has left me no cause to regret that I placed myself, with so much confidence, under their care, there are, nevertheless, certain restrictions as to residence imposed upon me by Treaty which, however prudent at the time, are now, in my altered circumstances, felt to be irksome, and certain conditions as to the amount of income to be assigned to me, which, if carried out in accordance with the literal interpretation of the Treaty, may place me and my family in a less favourable position than the ministers and their families by whom the Treaty, on my behalf, was made. I trust, therefore, that in considering the subject of my future settlement, the whole circumstances of my position may be carefully reviewed, and that such provision may be assigned to me as may appear liberal, considering my former rank, my present recognized position, and the expenses necessary for its proper and dignified maintenance.

I have, &c.,

*(Signed)* DULEEP SINGH

To the above letter, the following reply was received by His Highness at Rome, in March, 1857 :— Chapter XIII. 1857.

EAST INDIA HOUSE, *Feb. 19th*, 1857.

SIR,

. . . . . I am commanded to state, in reply, that the Court have observed with great satisfaction the excellent disposition manifested by your Highness during your stay in England, and are prepared to relieve you from the restriction as to residence.

The Court will make a reference to the Government of India, to ascertain the present and prospective appropriation of the sum set apart by Treaty for your support and that of your family and dependants, and on the receipt of the answer from that Government, they will again address you on the subject of your pecuniary circumstances.

I have &c.,

*(Signed)* JAMES C. MELVILL.

On the Maharajah's return to England in May, 1857, finding that no reply had been received to the reference to India, he was much disappointed, and was again about to address the Chairman of the Honourable East India Company, regarding the delay which had taken place, when, late in June, 1857, the intelligence reached this country of the mutiny of the native troops at Meerut, and the occupation of Delhi by the mutineers.

Under these circumstances, he at once felt himself precluded, for a time, from requesting the attention of the Honourable Court to the subject, and refrained

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even from asking to be released from guardianship, and entrusted with the management of his own affairs, until intelligence was received of the recapture of Delhi, the relief of Lucknow, and the success of operations, in which his countrymen and former subjects had most loyally assisted, which released the British Government from all present anxiety as to the re-establishment of their rule.

In the year 1857, the Queen-Mother of Oude arrived in England, to plead her son's cause in person at the feet of his Suzerain.

Remembering the old friendship of former years, she was most anxious to obtain the assistance of Sir John and Lady Login—who were at that time down in Scotland—in laying her petition before Queen Victoria. As the rigorous seclusion in which, according to Mahomedan custom, the old Queen lived, made it seem necessary to obtain the services of some *lady* who could act as interpreter in the forthcoming audience with her Majesty, she earnestly requested that Lady Login, the only English lady of her acquaintance, might perform this office, and the idea was very warmly taken up by Mr. Vernon Smith (Lord Lyveden), then President of the Board of Control. The suggestion rather alarmed Lady Login, who dreaded the responsibility of acting as go-between in important matters of State; but she was not, after all, called on to perform this office, as Sir George Clerk,

one of the Directors, himself undertook the duty. The interview, one would think, could hardly have fulfilled the expectations of the poor Queen of Oude; for, though the principal personages could *see* each other, they were unable to converse; while the presence of an interpreter *behind a screen*, could scarcely have been a convenient arrangement. Chapter XIII. 1857.

The Queen of Oude remained in England, doing her utmost in her son's cause, until seized with fatal illness. In January, 1858, Sir John Login was summoned to consult on her case, by the following note from her son, the late Commander-in-Chief of the Oude army, who had accompanied his mother to England:—

14, Warwick Road, Maida Vale, W.,
*Jan.* 18*th*, 1858.

H.R.H. General Sikunder Hushmut Bahadoor presents his best compliments to Sir John Login, and has the deepest regret in informing him that his royal mother, the Queen-Dowager, is dangerously ill. Under this distressing circumstance, H.R.H., considering how well-acquainted Sir John Login is with Indian manners, customs, and physical constitutions, would feel particularly obliged by Sir John's informing him when and where he could send his native physicians, for the purpose of consulting with Sir John, and having the advantage of his invaluable advice and suggestions.

Not long after this the Queen of Oude died at Paris, on her way back to India.

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Duleep Singh continued to receive frequent invitations to Windsor and Osborne, and on two or three occasions the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred came down to Ashburton Court, accompanied either by Mr. Gibbs or Dr. Becker, to spend the afternoon with him; when the chief amusements consisted in cricket and photography.

On the Prince of Wales's first visit, Login's eldest boy was unwell, and obliged to keep his room. Hearing this, the young Prince—even thus early giving tokens of that kindliness of disposition which has rendered him so deservedly popular—insisted on leaving his game to go and cheer the invalid, by talking to him from below his window—an act of gracious thoughtfulness with which the boy* was infinitely delighted.

Readers of the Queen's "*Journal*" will remember the accident to the Princess Royal, which occurred about this time, caused by the sleeve of her muslin dress catching fire from the candle which she was using when sealing a letter; and many were the rumours spread abroad of serious injury to her Royal Highness.

The following note from the Prince of Wales was written in answer to the Maharajah's inquiries on hearing of the accident:—

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* Then an Eton schoolboy.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *July 16th*, 1856.

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

I am very sorry to have neglected writing to you till to-day, but I have been so busy that I have not had a moment's time.

Princess Royal's arm is a great deal better now, and she thanks you very much for having inquired after it. She really has borne it very well. A minute more and it must have proved fatal.

I saw Sir John Login the other day, who gave me very good accounts of you. Will you remember me to him? We are going to spend two nights at the camp of Aldershot, and are then going on to the Isle of Wight.

I remain,

Yours affectionately,

ALBERT EDWARD.

When the Emperor Napoleon III. brought his lovely young Empress to England in 1857, the Maharajah was amongst those presented to their Majesties by Queen Victoria, and like all who came in contact with her, fell under the sway of the Empress Eugénie's beauty and charm of manner.

Lord Canning had several interviews with Duleep Singh and Sir John Login before he left for India to take up the Viceroyalty, and took great interest in the young Indian Prince, though, of course, he was not so fully acquainted with his character as the Marquis of Dalhousie. After Lord Canning's arrival in India, some suspicions arose that Duleep Singh was

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in clandestine correspondence with his mother, the Maharanee Chunda (Jinda), in Nepal, as will appear by the following letter from Sir John Kaye, then a high official at the India House.

INDIA HOUSE, *Nov. 25th*, 1856.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I think it very probable that you have not heard that the Government of India have sent us home copy of a letter addressed by the Maharajah to his mother, suggesting that she should come to England. The letter, written in English, was dated from Grindlay's Agency, to which it was suggested that reply should be sent. It fell into Jung Bahadoor's hands. Jung Bahadoor gave it to our Resident at Khatmandoo, who sent it to the Government of India, whence it has come home, with a minute of the Governor-General.

I need scarcely ask you whether you know anything about the matter—for the very fact of the Maharajah's writing through Grindlay's Agency shows that he wished to keep the matter from you. I write this confidentially (with the knowledge of the Chairman), so do not at present say anything to Duleep about the matter. When I have heard from you, I will let you know what it is thought should be done.

The letter was a somewhat harmless one, but the Nepal Government think that all letters to Chund Kowr should go through their hands.

I write in haste, but you shall hear from me again.

Ever yours, very sincerely,

J. WM. KAYE.

SIR J. S. LOGIN.

Sir John Login, however, was able to convince the

Government that the letter in question was an impudent forgery, and an attempt to extort money from the Ranee, on the part of some person in England. Chapter XIII. 1857.

Up to a period a little anterior to this, Duleep Singh had manifested not the faintest desire to communicate with his mother, or even to hear of her in any way, but a few months before the incident above alluded to, he showed signs of stirrings of conscience with regard to her, and an anxiety to put in practice the duty inculcated on him as a Christian, to "honour his mother," according to the Scriptural precept, and to manifest some care for her well-being in this world and the next.

As the Pundit Nehemiah Goreh was then about to return to India, to resume his missionary labours, the Maharajah entrusted him with a *personal* mission to the Maharanee at Khatmandoo, which forms the subject of the ensuing letters.

The Pundit not being aware of the affair of the forged letters, and being unable himself to proceed to Nepal before the unhealthy season, wrote to the Maharanee, through one, Manee Ram, a Udassee.

FLORENCE, *Jan.* 30*th*, 1857.

MY DEAR PUNDIT,

I am very sorry to find, from your letter to the Maharajah, that you have been unable to go up to Nepal to communicate *personally* with the Ranee; and that you have, in consequence, sent messages to her through some of her people.

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I had thought it the best way, to avoid any correspondence through doubtful channels, to ask you to speak to her personally, to tell her all you knew of the Maharajah, and to give us an account of her, and the people about her. I wished, also, to know if she was living in a respectable way, and to ascertain the best way in which the Maharajah could be of service to her. You may not have gathered my meaning clearly, and have naturally thought it sufficient to let her know, *through the Udassee*, of her son's goodwill towards her. The Maharajah does not know anything of this Udassee, or of the other people you mention, and does not wish to communicate through them. As he is unable to correspond with her in Goormookhee, it is useless to send on her letters. My last letter from London will have informed you of the letter which has been sent by some scoundrel, in the Maharajah's name, to induce the Ranee to apply for permission to visit England; and other letters, I have since ascertained, have been written, in the name of the Ranee (with or without her sanction), to Mr. John Bright, and perhaps to others in Parliament, to induce them to take up her case. I am, therefore, afraid that she will find difficulty in distinguishing between the Maharajah's genuine communications and the forgeries, unless you can speak to her personally, and explain. I have no doubt whatever that her desire to communicate with the Maharajah, through you, has been awakened of late, by the other letters sent her in the Maharajah's name, as, for several years, she has made no attempt to correspond with him, or even enquire about him. I am very anxious that you should impress upon her mind that the Maharajah is entirely opposed to her proposal to visit England, and that the safest course she can adopt is to remain quietly at Nepal for the present, living respectably, so as to afford her son good grounds for asking the Governor-General in Council to permit her to return to Hindostan, where she could be with relatives and friends.

But if she makes the least attempt to give trouble to the

Government, it will be quite impossible for the Maharajah to assist her in any way, however his natural feelings, as well as his Christian duty, may incline him to do so. I shall not be at all surprised if, on his return to India, he should himself ask the permission of Government to go up to Nepal to see her, and ascertain for himself in what way he can be most useful to her; and, from what I know of the sentiments of the authorities, I do not apprehend that they would make any objections to this. Chapter XIII. 1857.

Always, dear Nehemiah,

Yours very sincerely,

J. S. Login.

*From* Pundit Nehemiah Goreh *to* Sir John.

Benares, *Feb. 26th*, 1857.

Dear Sir John,

I thank you much for your letter. The money also came safe which you sent for my expenses to Nepal, but my going there has been put a stop to by Lord Canning, who writes Mr. Tucker, in answer to his request for permission to let me go, thus: "I beg you to tell the Pundit Nehemiah that he can write all he wishes to the Ranee, with the certainty that it will reach her safely, through the Resident, but that he cannot proceed to Nepal at present."

I am, therefore, writing her a letter. She has been anxiously looking for me, I believe. I shall tell her about the forged letters, and tell her to be very careful in trusting any person in such matters. I had heard that she was cheated of some thousands of rupees by some man in this very matter.

It seems she has a set of dishonest people about her, from whom she should be separated.

I remain, dear Sir John,

Your affectionate,

Nehemiah Goreh.

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The Maharajah's craze for photography continued unabated; and in this way, all visitors to Castle Menzies were induced to leave their "shadows" behind them; for the art of photography, being still a novelty, many felt a gratification in having their lineaments perpetuated by a *Prince*. He was more often successful with his gentleman sitters, and many were the likenesses he took of Harry Panmure Gordon, his neighbour at Killiechassie, whose fine figure in the Highland dress made a capital subject. Colonel ——, a gentleman with a number of good-looking daughters, was very anxious to have them photographed by the Prince. The dismay of the proud father may be conceived, when, owing to some error of focus, the young ladies came out all with hands as big as their heads, and looking remarkably as if they had donned boxing-gloves for the occasion! He was not satisfied, until further attempts produced something rather more complimentary.

The news of the Mutiny came like a thunderbolt in the summer of 1857.

Great as was the turmoil aroused throughout the whole nation—of horror at the atrocities committed, and desperation at the consciousness of our impotence at that distance — this was as nothing compared to the emotions excited in the breasts of those to whom both the scenes and the victims of this great tragedy were perfectly familiar, who had themselves

but lately returned from those regions, and who, but for a merciful Providence, might themselves have been numbered among the slain!

It was not long before the intelligence reached Castle Menzies, that the Maharajah's residence at Futtehghur had been sacked and burnt by the mutineers, and his faithful servants murdered! As the Maharajah's visit to England was only expected to be for two years, he had left valuable property behind him, under guard, in his Toshkhana, in charge of his English steward, Sergeant A. Elliott (Bengal Sappers). This man had been selected for work in the Lahore Toshkhana, by Login, who, discovering his value, afterwards applied for him for the Maharajah's establishment. His letters at the outbreak of the Mutiny, gave such graphic descriptions of all that occurred, that Login, having forwarded one of them to Colonel Phipps* for perusal, was requested to continue to do so as they arrived. This he did, until their sudden cessation raised fears for the writer's own fate, which, alas! were to be only too speedily confirmed. Sergeant Elliott, his wife and children, and Mr. Walter Guise (the Maharajah's former tutor, whose house was hard by), were all murdered, along with other European residents at Futtehghur, shortly before the massacre of Cawnpore.

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* Colonel the Hon. Charles Phipps — afterwards Sir C. Phipps — private secretary to the Prince Consort.

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It may well be imagined with what breathless interest Login watched the struggle of that devoted band who defended the Residency at Lucknow, familiar as he was with every foot of ground rendered memorable by that conflict, and intimately acquainted with both European and native inhabitants of the city; while the chief and central figure, on whom the hopes and safety of that little garrison, humanly speaking, chiefly depended, was his own best and dearest friend! We need not speak here of the grief with which he received the sad intelligence that that brave and gentle spirit had been struck down at the post of duty, and carried in to die in the very house where, years before, the two friends had conjointly elaborated so many schemes for the welfare of the native races of India.

*Letter from* COLONEL PHIPPS.

BALMORAL, *Sept. 27th*, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I was very sorry to find, from a letter which I saw to-day, that Lord Clarendon had formed the opinion that the Maharajah was of an unfeeling and cruel disposition; upon what grounds his opinion has been formed I am at a loss to know, but my observation, certainly limited, would have led me to form, as far as cruelty is concerned, an exactly opposite judgment. I do not think that any Eastern ever shows much feeling, and perhaps they do not possess much, but I cannot believe that the Maharajah has any cruelty in his disposition. I can believe it perfectly

possible that, being still an Indian at heart, he may not like the terms of execration, too well justified, in which he hears Indians spoken of, and that he cannot join in the hopes of bloody retribution so generally entertained; but surely we must make allowance for this not unnatural feeling on his part. Chapter XIII. 1857.

Lord Clarendon, in a former letter, said, that in conversation with you at Taymouth Castle, he elicited from you that the Maharajah did not evince particular interest in the subject of the scenes that had occurred in Bengal during the outbreak, and was more taken up at present with his sport. May I venture to suggest a little caution in the expression of any opinion as to the feelings of the Maharajah on this subject, because a very slight expression from you may give rise to a very comprehensive, and probably exaggerated, opinion. Pray, my dear Sir John, forgive this hint, which is suggested by the most friendly motives.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

CASTLE MENZIES, *Sept.* 30*th*, 1857.

MY DEAR COLONEL PHIPPS,

It is indeed kind of you to put me on my guard as to the impression I may give of the Maharajah's character, in my conversation regarding him at this time. As you may have perceived from my note, conveying the Maharajah's reply to Her Majesty's most gracious and considerate message, I *have* been a little disappointed that he has shown so much indifference on the subject of the treacheries and cruelties perpetrated in India by the mutineers, and that he has scarcely admitted the propriety of abstaining from a few of the usual gaieties at this season, in consequence of the sad intelligence we have received of the fate of his own faithful servants, and of his tutor, Mr. Guise, and poor

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Tom Scott's mother, sister, and brother, who had been his guests at Roehampton only a few months before. I have endeavoured to find excuses for this want of sympathy, in the natural tendency of young men, at his age and in his position, to allow nothing to interfere with their sports and amusements. When Lord Clarendon asked me what the Maharajah's thoughts and views were, on the Mutiny, I could only say truthfully that he did not show any *great* interest in it, his thoughts being at present wholly occupied with shooting and field-sports. I am sure nothing *I* said led him to form the opinion you mention, of the Maharajah's disposition I think it probable it has arisen from the Maharajah's own conversation with Lord Clarendon, and the remarks he overheard him make to the ladies who were guests at Taymouth Castle at the same time, and who have been more than usually observant of any traits in his character which they consider to be peculiarly Oriental.

He is, I am very thankful to say, extremely truthful and candid, and I am certain that there is nothing in the character of English Christians which he admires so much, and wishes so much to copy, as straightforward honesty, and openness. He certainly sometimes, when he see that any of the sentiments he expresses cause surprise or wonder, exaggerates them a little for amusement; but always with a tendency more to depreciate than exalt himself in the estimation of those he converses with; and although I have repeatedly pointed out this effect to him, he has found people hitherto so ready to think well of him, and has such a horror of hypocrisy, that he considers it better to err on the safe side. Of all his amusements, hawking is his favourite whenever he can enjoy it, and as the falcons have to be trained by means, which to us appear cruel, he has often, in course of conversation, to explain the process; and observing the effect the description has upon most people, he no doubt amuses himself a little dilating on the subject. Knowing the feeling with which falcon training would be viewed among us, I induced

him to lay it aside for some time in India, and hoped the passionate love for the sport might moderate; but having now attained an age, at which restraint on his field-sports is not expedient, he has resumed it with all his former ardour. Chapter XIII. 1857.

This style of talk, combined with a certain expression about his mouth, which I heard a lady at Taymouth point out as very indicative of Oriental character, has doubtless led them to attach an idea of cruelty to his disposition; but were I to attempt to say anything on the subject to him, I am afraid that his anxiety to avoid anything approaching to dissimulation would only increase the difficulty.

Even his indifference to what is occurring in India, his apparent want of sympathy with the sufferings of our countrymen and women, arise in a great measure from a wish not to deceive, or to be better thought of than he is in reality. Of all the Christian virtues, truthfulness is the one to which he attaches most importance, though I am happy to think there are others besides which exert no little influence over his natural disposition.

The Maharajah has certainly no sympathy with the mutinous Sepoys, nor any other wish than that we should effectually put them down. He does not look on them as his countrymen, nor refrain from expressing abhorrence of their conduct whenever it is mentioned; but although he even goes so far as to suggest and invent modes of punishment for them, perhaps as effectual as ridiculous, his feelings in our favour are not so strong as to overcome his natural indolence, or to tempt him to read or make many inquiries on the subject of the revolt. With the conduct of the Sikhs and Punjabis in assisting us, he is very much gratified, while, at the same time, he is not without misgivings as to their continuing faithful throughout, and expresses doubts of the propriety of bringing them to Delhi, where they will see a handful of English, opposed to a multitude who speak nearly the same language, and differ little in religion from themselves.

In spite of all Duleep Singh's faults and deficencies, I have still

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much to be thankful for in his character, although I have reluctantly been obliged to forego the hope, I at one time indulged, that he would take an active and foremost part in enlightening the people of India.

Yours very truly,

J. S. Login.

Shortly after the tidings of the Indian Mutiny reached this country, and while all trembled with anxiety as to what news next mail might bring, Lady Login was one morning told that two men on horseback had arrived at the Castle, from Kinloch, and one of them craved a private interview on matters of importance. Coming, as they did, from the home of her childhood, she sent for the man at once, and, on his entrance, recognized one of her brother, General Charles Campbell's, tenants, Donald MacCulloch, an old acquaintance, who, shutting the door cautiously, and speaking in a whisper, said, "We just thocht we wad come o'er the hill, to see if ye were a' richt, for there's no trustin' thae black men noo!"

Seeing she looked puzzled, he asked in a hoarse whisper, pointing with his thumb over his shoulder, "Is HE keeping quate? If there's ony fear o' his breakin' oot, there's a wheen o' us ready to come o'er the hill and sattle him for ye, gin ye gie the word!" To his great relief he was told that the "black Prince" had only two native servants, and that both he and

they were very peaceably disposed—would he like to see the Prince? he had been in that room only a few minutes ago. Chapter XIII. 1857.

The poor man absolutely jumped! "What! is he loose? I never saw but ae black man in my life, and that was yer uncle, Sir Patrick's, naygro, carrying his bag on the moors. I was but a laddie then, but I still shake when I mind o' the Admiral cryin' on me, 'Donald, here's *auld Clootie* wi' his bag come for ye!'".

The *brave* Donald was reassured when he saw that the Prince was not black, like his negro acquaintance, and he went off home quite happy, *on foot*, having made a capital bargain, and got a good price for his sturdy little black mare, to which the Maharajah had taken a fancy as a shooting-pony.

The idea of the Strathbraan men being on the watch for symptoms of a "rising" on his part, was greatly enjoyed by Duleep Singh!

This year of the Mutiny brought an immense amount of work and correspondence on Sir John Login. Having so lately returned from the scene of operations, and being in constant communication with many of the leading actors in the suppression of the revolt, he was appealed to on all sides for information on the matters then absorbing public attention.

Here is a letter received at this time from Mr. Bright, who had been staying at Castle Mi[illegible]es a few days previously :—

ROCHDALE, *Sept. 1st*, 1857.

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DEAR SIR JOHN,

I ought to have written you sooner, to tell you what took place after I left you so suddenly at Castle Menzies, but you will have seen it in the newspapers. The Birmingham people have treated me most handsomely, and I only hope I may be able to repay them. I am keeping quiet till February, but I am not very sanguine that I shall even then be able to venture into the House of Commons, for the "strength" of my head recovers but slowly, and, after such a shock as I have suffered from, restoration is always slow, without being always sure. . . . .

The India chaos is a truly melancholy business; and the death of Lawrence will have come upon *you* as a calamity. The more I consider the whole question, the more its magnitude and its difficulty oppresses me. The cruelties perpetrated by the Sepoys, and the scarcely less horrid cruelties inflicted by our countrymen, under the name of punishment and vengeance, will leave a desperate wound, which time can never heal. The restoration of order, therefore, will be not a small part of the difficulty—the future government of India is the great problem, and I know not how this is to be solved. The loss of India would not ruin England, but the effort, and the cost of keeping it, may do so; and the crimes we have committed there must be atoned for, in some shape, by ourselves or our children.

Pray remember me most kindly to Lady Login, and say to the Maharajah that I was very sorry not to see his hawks fly, and to leave him so abruptly, if not, indeed, so rudely.

Believe me always,

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

SIR JOHN LOGIN,

Castle Menzies.

In answering this letter, Login took occasion to disabuse Mr. Bright of some misconceptions of the native character he appeared to have formed, and of the effect produced upon it by the high-handed proceedings of some of the first representatives of English rule among them. He was very anxious to secure, as an advocate for the future interests of India, a man of such sterling integrity, and extraordinary power of influencing the masses of his countrymen; and of whose character, as personifying honesty and uprightness, he was a sincere admirer.

Lord Canning's anxiety to prevent bloody retribution, and to discourage the indiscriminate thirst for vengeance, found an echo in the minds of a large body of noble-minded statesmen and philanthropists at home, who dreaded lest this un-English lust for blood might grow to such a pitch as would baffle the restraints of discipline and humanity, and lead to excesses, such as the nation would have cause to deplore in its cooler moments. The fearful descriptions of the mutilations and outrage to which English ladies and children had been subjected were repeated and exaggerated to such an extent, that men's minds were strung up to an intensity of hatred to the native races of India, which forbade their listening to reason!

A committee of gentlemen was therefore formed, of which Login was one, to institute an inquiry into

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* Login's reply to John Bright's letter will be found in the Appendix.

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those cases of mutilation brought forward by the newspapers, to which special features of atrocity were attached, and Login offered himself to go down to the ports of arrival, and board all steamers and sailing vessels with passengers from India,—especially those named in these journals as conveying victims of the ferocity of the Sepoys. Though at first himself a believer in the possible truth of these assertions, he had the satisfaction of establishing the fact, after interviewing both officers and passengers on board these vessels, that at least among those who had returned to their native country, no single case of such mutilation was to be found. His own impression of the matter was, that in cases of mutilation it was most improbable that the victims would be suffered to survive.

This evidence was of great assistance in strengthening the hands of Lord Canning, whose "clemency" to the rebels had raised a storm against him, both in India and in this country.

It must be remembered that, at this time, excepting Login, very few (if any) officers of the East India Company had been brought much in contact with the Court. Login's personal intimacy, therefore, with the Hon. Charles Phipps, then private secretary to Her Majesty the Queen, as well as to H.R.H. the Prince Consort, made him the medium of communicating the views and counsels of Indian officers on the crisis.

Having forwarded to Colonel Phipps, soon after the

earliest accounts of the Mutiny reached England, some private letters received by the last mail from India, Colonel Phipps wrote to him as follows :— Chapter XIII. 1857.

OSBORNE, *July 24th*, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I was exceedingly obliged to you for your letter and its enclosures.

In the present awful crisis of the affairs of India, any opinion or views, propounded by one so well acquainted with the country as yourself, must be most valuable, and you could not do me a greater favour than to continue your communications.

I think that we had no right to be much surprised at what has occurred. Everybody who has had boldness or sincerity enough to face the question, has long since known, and many have declared, the utterly rotten and unreliable state of the Bengal native army, nor have frequent occasions been wanting, on which the Sepoys of this Presidency have sufficiently shown their mutinous and exacting spirit. Upon such emergencies as the present, however, the least profitable and least satisfactory process is a retrospect of the past. It will require all the wisdom and all the energy of the Government (I hope they may have enough), to provide for the future. I should think that no Government, either national or under charter, would be so mad as to entrust again the safety of an important part of the Indian Empire to high-caste native troops, and yet I can conceive that much difficulty may arise from the sole employment of white soldiers, entirely unacquainted with the language and customs of the people. From the amount of the force heretofore maintained, I should suppose that the Company's troops must be employed upon many duties other than the mere military repression of disturbance.

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With regard to the other question of gradual conversion, I have always understood, though I profess to be very ignorant upon Indian subjects, that it is one of very great difficulty.

The difficult epoch appears to me to be that in which you have not made progress enough to reap any of the fruits that may be hoped to result from the knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, and yet have done enough to alarm the prejudices and fanaticism of those whose existence almost depends upon the adherence to their rules of caste. I have very little faith in any number of adult converts—a few isolated cases there must be; but in general, a sincere believer in any religion will not be a sincere proselyte, and it is the weak and the worthless who, in general, first embrace a new faith—worthless in themselves, and by their characters throwing discredit upon conversion. But this must always be a stage to pass through. In the present case, you have so long preached up non-interference with religious prejudices as the doctrine of your Indian rule, that you give a plausible excuse for discontent when you depart from the principles proclaimed by yourselves.

I look with the most painful anxiety for the next mail. How much may depend upon the news which that brings! but I fear, from what I hear, that our army was very deficient in all the materials for striking a decisive blow, and its efficiency very much cramped by the limited power and authority which has been accorded to the generals commanding.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. Phipps.

In response to this, Login, on the 28th July, 1857, addressed a long letter, or rather memorandum, to Colonel Phipps, which led ultimately to a voluminous correspondence on Indian affairs in general, too long to

receive here more than a passing allusion. That these papers—written thus early, before it was known outside the Cabinet, that the Queen's Government had determined on taking into their own hands the future destinies of India—were not without their influence on the measures then under consideration, for the reorganization of the Indian Government, and of its army, will perhaps appear on a perusal of a short summary of their contents, which will be found at the end of this volume.*

While engaged in this correspondence with Sir Charles Phipps, Login wrote to Sir James C. Melvill, Secretary to the Court of Directors, explaining to him (for the information of the Board) the circumstances under which the correspondence had arisen, and forwarding copies of all his letters as they were despatched, ending by saying:—

"As I think it not unlikely that these opinions are made known in a high quarter, although I cannot presume to think they are likely to have much weight, I consider it my duty, situated as I am, to let you know what I have done. I hope that you will, whether you approve of my opinions or not, be assured of my desire to do nothing which I cannot freely communicate to you. . . . . I have also had frequent conversations with Mr. Bright on the subject of India, whilst he was here on a visit, and have done my best to modify his views. . . . . From all the opportunities

* See Appendix. *Correspondence between Sir C. Phipps and Sir J. Login.*

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of observation which I have lately enjoyed, I am satisfied that the transfer of the Indian Government to the Crown has been *determined upon*, and that the *how* and the *when* have only to be considered. I have, therefore, thought it my duty to meet Colonel Phipps's wishes, by giving such information as I am able to do, on various points connected with the transfer. . . . . I have no doubt that I may be considered very presumptuous in all this; but the opportunities afforded me, of expressing my opinion, have not been of my seeking, and I think I do right to avail myself of them."

It is gratifying to note, from the following quotation from the "*Life of Prince Consort*," that the Queen herself attached value to Sir John Login's opinions on Indian affairs. Writing to Lord Derby (then Prime Minister) in reference to Lord Ellenborough's secret despatch to Lord Canning, April, 1858, and of his second despatch, May 5th, Her Majesty says :—

"The despatch now before me, for the first time, is very good and just in principle, but the Queen would be much surprised if it did not entirely coincide with the views of Lord Canning, at least, as far as he has hitherto expressed any in his letters. So are also the sentiments written by Sir John Lawrence (in a private letter which Lord Derby had sent for her Majesty's perusal), in almost the very expressions frequently used by Lord Canning. Sir John Login, who holds the same opinion, and has great experience, does not find any fault with the Proclamation, however seemingly it

may sound at variance with those opinions; and he rests this opinion on the peculiar position of affairs in Oude."* Chapter XIII. 1857.

The following is the last letter Login received from Lord Dalhousie, who was on the point of going abroad in search of health :—

EDINBURGH, *Oct. 3rd*, 1857.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

We are just on the wing for London, on our way to Malta, for which we sail on the 20th inst. I have never had any communication from the Court regarding the Maharajah, and hope that the sentiments which were placed on record will lead to a satisfactory settlement of his affairs.

The tidings from India are too distressing to write about, though they occupy my thoughts by day and by night.

Believe me, my dear Login,

Ever yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

SIR J. S. LOGIN,
Castle Menzies.

*Letter from* SIR JOHN LOGIN *to the* EDITOR *of the* "TIMES."

CASTLE MENZIES, *Nov. 25th*, 1857.

MY DEAR DELANE,

I have been lately asked by the Rev. H. Venn, secretary to the Church Missionary Society, to give him my views with

* "*Life of Prince Consort*," vol. iv., p. 225.

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respect to Christian education in India, and the extension of our missions. I sent him a paper, of which I enclose you a copy, and I have also written to Lord Shaftesbury, at his request, on the same subject.

The article on the use of the Roman character in Oriental languages, has attracted much attention. I lately saw the editor of the Mirzapoor paper (Rev. Cotton Mather), who is now engaged in an edition of the whole Scriptures in Urdu for the Bible Society, and will, I hope, soon be able to assist Sir Charles Trevelyan and others in bringing out an edition of the New Testament, English and Romanized Urdu in parallel columns, for the use of persons going out to India. It is also proposed to get up a Romanized edition of Shakespeare's or other standard dictionary.

I have been much gratified by your articles on Indian finances, and the means of getting the mercantile classes to contribute in fair proportion to the revenues of the State. If we keep to our law of inheritance, as now established, permitting, of course, Hindoos to adopt by will as they please, provided they pay a succession duty, we shall get a pretty good sum out of them. The proposal to sell freehold rights in the land (which I have also often thought of), although excellent in principle, should not, I think, be brought into operation at present—not until confidence in our Government has been most effectually restored, and the possibility of raising taxes from other sources than th[illegible]nd satisfactorily ascertained.

I have had a letter from Charles Havelock, the General's brother. Since I told him of your kindness, he has found that the regulations of the Horse Guards, in respect to officers who had left the service by sale of commission, precluded his return to it at his age; but he had applied for an appointment under the East India Company. I have sent on his letter to Sir George Pollock, who is also interested in him, and have written to Sir James Melvill, suggesting that he might be most useful in

drilling the Light Cavalry recruits, and mentioning that you had, through Mr. Ellice, interested Lord Panmure in his case, and that they would carry the goodwill of all with them, for his brother's sake. I am glad to hear that Wilson and Havelock are both to be made baronets, but they must have pensions also, for neither of them are able to keep up the dignity without such assistance. I know Havelock well, and Wilson also. I served under him throughout the Punjab campaign. I do not know what is to be given to John Lawrence: he deserves a peerage, but his sister told me lately that he had only saved £20,000, so that he could not afford to take one without a pension attached. When I go up to London next week, I will show you the replies I have sent to some influential friends, who asked me to state my opinions on various Indian matters. . . . .

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I fear I have written you a very long letter.

Yours very sincerely,

J. S. Login.

About this time (August, 1857) Sir John wrote to Sir James Melvill to ask if any reply had yet been received from India relative to the Maharajah's affairs. He suggested that as, owing to the Mutiny, the Maharajah's return to India had been put a stop to, and he remained in England more from necessity than choice, if the Court of Directors desired to induce him to settle contentedly in this country, it would be advisable to provide him with an estate. If left to himself to decide, whether to purchase property or not,

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his mind was so unsettled, that it would be long before he could make it up; but if the matter were decided for him, he would readily acquiesce in the arrangement, and very contentedly make this country his home, for several years to come.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## GUARDIANSHIP ENDED.



THE marriage of the Princess Royal, in January, 1858, was the last Court ceremonial in which Sir John Login took part as governor and guardian of Duleep Singh, who was henceforth to be permitted to manage his own affairs.

The Maharajah celebrated his emancipation from guardianship by organizing a shooting expedition to Sardinia, with Dr. Parsons and a friend. Before starting for the land of banditti he made due preparations for the worst! making his will, and leaving a power of attorney with Sir John Login, to act for him in the settlement of his affairs.

When the lease of Castle Menzies expired, the shootings of Auchlyne, on Loch Tay, were rented from Lord Breadalbane, which place became Duleep Singh's headquarters on his return from Sardinia, pending the conclusion of the arrangement for a lease of Mulgrave Castle, which Sir John was making with Lord Normanby.

The following letter was written by Lord Hatherton,

Chapter XIV. 1858-63.

whilst the Maharajah was on a visit to him at Teddesley :—

TEDDESLEY, *Dec.* 11*th*, 1857.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

. . . . I have been talking with the Maharajah about the expediency of his having some house in or near London, but he seems unwilling, until he has made up his mind whether he shall revisit India in the cold season of next year. He talks of "being entitled to consider his own pleasure and comfort," and was so decided that I thought it best to say no more. He showed me a draft of the will he intends to execute before going abroad. He evidently wishes to do what is kind, liberal, and right in the disposal of his property, and I was pleased to hear his expressions of gratitude to you. His words to me, on my proposing to him to alter the plan of his will, and leave £10,000 at once to the Church Missionary Society, and make *you* his residuary legatee, were "You do not know him as well as I do, if you think this would please him. Oh, no! He wished me to leave it to the Church Missionary Society, and I have fully resolved to do so. All my interests and duties are in India, but Sir John and Lady Login have the strongest claim upon me. He has abandoned a career that might have been most profitable, for my sake. I shall leave him not less than £10,000, . . . . and, if I live to come of age, I shall settle £1,000 per annum on him, to be followed by the legacy. I feel the importance of not delaying the execution of my will, and intend to do it at once."

I thought it might please you to know how he feels to you both. He says he is to consult his friend, Mr. Cuninghame, about being executor to his will, when he passes through Edinburgh.

Very truly yours,

HATHERTON.

SIR JOHN S. LOGIN.

Login wrote to congratulate Sir Charles Phipps on the honours just conferred on him, to which Sir Charles replied :— 

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *Jan. 26th*, 1858.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Many, many thanks for your kind letter of congratulation. I claim no merit but that of doing what is given me to do, with a wish to do it honestly, and to the best of my ability. I need hardly say that the honour given me was one that I should never have sought or expected, and that I felt doubly the insignificance of my services from the company I found myself in in the *Gazette*.* But this is not my fault. The Queen cannot be *exclusively* served on the Ganges!

I assure you, my dear Login, that I consider one of the privileges of my position to have been, to have formed first the acquaintance, and then, I hope, gained the friendship, of one for whom I have a very sincere respect, and true regard.

Ever sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

The Maharajah was, at this time, bent on enjoying life as a private gentleman, free from all the trammels of princely rank, and for this reason appointed no equerry or aide-de-camp.

* Havelock and Wilson.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *Feb. 9th*, 1858.

Chapter XIV. 1858-63.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

The Queen and Prince would hope to see the Maharajah before he goes abroad. Would Sunday next be too late a day to name for that purpose? The Queen desires me to say, that she hopes that the Maharajah will not think of going abroad without somebody as a sort of A.D.C. and companion. Her Majesty thinks that to go quite alone would hardly be compatible with his rank and station. Your name will be restored to the ceremonial list (those present at the royal marriage), from which it had been accidentally omitted.

Yours very sincerely,

C. B. PHIPPS.

A few letters from Duleep Singh, written while trying his wings on his first flight, show his boyish character yet unspoilt.

DOVER, *March 3rd*, 1858.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

Here we are stuck at Dover, and can't cross, as the sea very rough; but if it is calmer to-morrow we shall cross, otherwise, we must delay till Thursday. We had a very pleasant journey; my companions made themselves very agreeable. Dr. Parsons, I think, is a very nice man; he seems to know something about everything, and enters into all my amusements. I fear I shall not enjoy this trip as I had hoped, as they try to please me too much, and I fear very much that if I do not take care I shall be spoilt for ever afterwards. They act towards me as I daresay Sir John remembers, a Dr.

Drummond used to do to the Duke of Athole. He used to call him "His Grace" at every word, and if the Duke happened to drop anything, he used to rush forward to pick it up, and also flattered him a great deal. It is not good to have people near me in this position, for I am very much afraid that I shall get quite vain; but perhaps when we get to know each other better, it will not be the case. My kind regards to Sir John and the children. Chapter XIV, 1858-63.

Believe me always, my dear Lady Login,

Affectionately yours,

DULEEP SINGH.

CAGLIARI, SARDINIA, *March 29th*, 1858.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I received your letter this morning, which gave me great pleasure, for besides telling me that you are all well, you gave me all that news about Mulgrave Castle. I think it would be a very good bargain, if the shootings are what you describe them. If the moors are of the size of one-fourth of the whole property, I should like you to secure it, but if not, never mind. This is a very nice place for shooting, but I wish I had come in December, as now there is hardly any game to be found. Thank Lady Login for her kind letter; tell her I did her commissions at Genoa, and Presanzini is to send the parcel by a courier friend of his. I am very glad to hear that Alick Lawrence has got a Baronetcy and £1,000 a-year. Many thanks for the trouble you are taking about my settlement with the East India Company. It must delight Sir George Pollock to be made a Director; give him my congratulations, please. It is such a bother to have lost two of my best hawks, first time they were flown! We get Indian mail sooner here than in London; the last news seems better, I hope for peace soon. This way of travelling is

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very much more expensive than I expected. My love to the children.

Your affectionately,

DULEEP SINGH.

DOMO D'OSSOLA, SIMPLON, *May 3rd*, 1858.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

I was so glad to get your letter. We returned to Genoa on the 30th ult., having had little shooting in Sardinia. I have come to the conclusion that there is no place in the world after all for sport, like England, however, I have enjoyed my trip very much. I think if you were to visit Sardinia you would think it very like India, I almost fancied myself back there when looking at the scenery.

When I was at Muro, I was persuaded to give a ball "to the nobility and gentry"; they came in their national costumes. One young lady was very beautiful, all our party were smitten, even Dr. Parsons; *I* did not, however, fall in love with her as I did with —— at Rome! Have you no commission for me to do? We hope to be home on 17th, when I trust to see you. I am going to send for Signor Brochi from Rome, to continue my study of Italian. I have found out my deficiencies, and am determined to learn it well before I go abroad again. Do you remember what fun we used to have with him? I have just written a long letter to the Prince of Wales, so will now stop. With love to all,

Yours affectionately,

DULEEP SINGH.

AUCHLYNE, *July 6th*, 1858.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

I am so very glad to hear that the Queen has asked you, and you have agreed, to take charge of the young Coorg Princess.

I am quite sure you will make her very happy, and treat her with that motherly kindness which I myself have had the good luck to experience. Yes, I left the brougham to be sold, and I hear you have inquired the price; it has *none* if it is for *your own* personal use, but if it is for the use of the Princess, I think she can afford to pay me £40, which is one-third of its cost! Tell me when to expect Edward; he will enjoy fishing. Love to all. Chapter XIV. 1858-63.

Your affectionate

DULEEP SINGH.

Mrs. Drummond, having resigned the charge of the young Princess of Coorg, god-daughter of the Queen, Her Majesty made it a special request that Lady Login should take charge of her, and, after taking her abroad for the winter, bring her out in society next season. Feeling that whatever inconvenience this arrangement might cause to herself, the Queen's wishes must be complied with, she agreed, trusting that another suitable chaperon might be found later on. In consequence, the house in Portman Square was given up, and the family removed to Kew, where one of the Queen's houses was prepared and furnished for them.

After Christmas, Sir John and Lady Login took the Princess and their two elder children to Rome.

This same winter, the Prince of Wales was there, with his Governor, General Bruce, and honoured Sir John and Lady Login with a visit at their apartments, No. 56, Capo le Casa. During the Carnival, he also came to their balcony in the Corso, with a bouquet for

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the Princess Gouramma, and, after watching the procession for some time, passed on to the balcony of the neighbouring house, which was occupied by the Prussian royal family.

Though Login had regularly forwarded to the India House copies of all his letters and memoranda to Sir C. Phipps, during the correspondence already alluded to, the Board never so much as acknowledged the receipt of any of these communications. It would seem as if they resented the fact of an officer in their service being consulted on Indian affairs, or giving any opinion as to the direction reform should take; although they were perfectly aware that Login had only given expression to his views by particular request, after positive assurance that "the rule of the Company was doomed," and that it only remained to be decided by what form of government it should be succeeded.

The treatment which they meted out to a hitherto trusted servant would almost justify the idea that the moribund Company of Directors were not above showing their displeasure in a somewhat undignified and ungenerous manner.

It was not until the 29th December, 1857, that the Court of Directors acceded to the request of the Maharajah, that he might be permitted to assume the management of his own affairs; at that date he had exceeded by three years, the age at which Hindoo princes attain their legal majority, and by more than a

year that at which European sovereigns are considered competent to assume the reins of government. The Court nevertheless informed him that though they granted his request, "purposing, so far as their authority extended, to show the esteem they entertained for the sense and good conduct which had marked all his proceedings in this country," yet, according to the laws of England, he was still a minor, and legally incompetent to undertake certain responsibilities; * while, as a minor, he was incompetent to execute a legal instrument appointing another person to act for him.†

Having decided that the guardianship was at an end, the Court immediately informed Sir John Login that his official salary must now cease; and it was only on his pointing out that his original appointment had been that of Superintendent and *Agent to the Governor-General* (personally attached to His Highness), and that the latter function did not necessarily cease on the Maharajah's attaining his majority,‡ that

* A side of the question with which they were not concerned, as they were bound to deal with him only by the laws of India.

† This palpably refers to the power of attorney, which the Maharajah had executed in favour of Sir John Login.

‡ As agent to the Government with His Highness, it may still be my duty to draw his monthly stipend and sign the bill for it, and it may be in his power to communicate through me, if he should so wish it, instead of through the Honourable Court, with the local authorities in India, for the recovery of his property, plundered by the mutineers at Futtehghur, and in other ways to assist him officially, if he requires it, as I think he may.—*Letter from Sir J. Login to Secretary of the H.E.I.C., Feb. 15th*, 1858.

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the Court allowed him a further period of three months for the audit of his accounts, on an allowance of 600 rupees per mensem, that being the moiety of his salary hitherto paid by the Company; but when Lord Stanley, the present Earl of Derby, who was the first Secretary of State for India, came into office, he, "fully appreciating the very conscientious and efficient manner in which he had discharged his duties," directed in a letter dated December 1st, 1858, that Sir John's full salary should be paid to him, up to the date on which his functions ceased.

In announcing that the Maharajah was henceforth to be considered of age, Sir James Melvill then wrote to Sir John Login :—

> The Court, however, cannot allow the connection which has existed for so many years between you and the Maharajah to cease, without expressing their entire approbation of the manner in which you have performed the duties of your important office, as evinced by the good results of the careful training for which the young Prince is indebted to you.

On the 27th February, Sir John wrote to inform the Court, that he had transferred all balances at the bankers, and other securities, to the personal credit of His Highness, and made over all valuables to the charge of Mr. Cawood, the steward appointed by the Maharajah and empowered to give receipts. In this letter he also informs the Court that, "Knowing it

had been out of his power to save much from his allowances, or make sufficient provision for his family, during the nine years of his guardianship, the Maharajah had spontaneously proposed to settle an annuity on him, and make further provision for him in his will, in the event of his surviving him." In requesting that this desire of His Highness might be favourably considered, Login reminded the Directors, that owing to his having undertaken the charge of the young Prince, he had forfeited his chances of rising, either in the medical service, in which he had as fair a prospect as any medical officer in India, or in the civil and political service, where a career was well known to lie open to him; while, on the other hand, from the peculiarity of his position he had been unavoidably led, not only personally, but in his family, into greater expenses than he would have been in any ordinary appointments of the service. He also mentioned that the Maharajah, before embarking, had left with him a power of attorney to arrange the settlement of his pension, the recovery of his property in India, and other matters requiring reference to the Court of Directors, and concluded by remarking, "it has been a source of much gratification and thankfulness to me, that I have been able, under God's blessing, to establish and confirm a feeling of goodwill, loyalty, and respect towards the British Government, *on the part of one from whom such sentiments could scarcely have been expected.*"

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The following letter was also written at this time to the Secretary of the East India Company:—

SIR,

On the severance of the connection which has for so many years existed between Sir John Login and myself, I am anxious to testify my appreciation of his character, and my sense of his constant and kind attention to my interests and comfort. I have, therefore, to request the Honourable Court of Directors that, on the termination of Sir John's official engagement in the management of my affairs, the sum of Rs.833. 5. 4. per mensem, may be paid in India to his order, or as he shall direct, and be deducted from the total allowance I receive from the East India Company. May I, therefore, beg of your doing what is necessary, for carrying out these my wishes into effect.

I have, &c.,

DULEEP SINGH.

LONDON, *Feb. 26th*, 1858.

The answer of the Court was conveyed to Sir J. Login in the following terms:—

*March 10th*, 1858.

. . . . In reply to this communication, I am commanded by the Court to state that the letter of the Maharajah makes no mention of any testamentary bequest, and, with reference to the proposed annuity, that the receipt of any present or gratuity from a native of India by any officer of the Company, is prohibited, not only, as you must be aware, by the rules of the service, but by an

Act of Parliament. The arrangement, therefore, cannot receive either the approval, or the sanction of the Court of Directors. Chapter XIV. 1858-63.

I have, &c.

J. D. DICKENSON,
*Secretary.*

To this, Sir J. Login replied, that he regretted he had not before informed the Court that, in the event of their acceding to the above request, he intended to retire from the service, but had thought it best to defer the announcement until all his accounts had been audited. And having, for the last eight years and upwards, been directed to draw one-half of his salary from His Highness, and, for the previous seven years, an equal amount from His Majesty the King of Oude, besides receiving special permission, on several occasions, to accept presents from the latter, it had not occurred to him that it was not within the power of the Court, *in like manner*, to sanction the acceptance of the Maharajah's offer, under the very peculiar circumstances of the case.

With respect to the absence of any mention, in His Highness's letter, of any testamentary bequest, as His Highness merely intended to ask the favour of the Honourable Court to carry out his wishes for the payment of an annuity, by deduction from his pay, it was not considered necessary by His Highness to make any allusion to it; and he (Login) only mentioned

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it, from a wish that everything should be known regarding his relations to His Highness.

*From* SECRETARY TO BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

*April 3rd*, 1858.

. . . . You state that it had been your intention to apply for permission to retire from the service, upon accepting the annuity offered to you by the Maharajah Duleep Singh. . . . . In reply, the Court desire me to state that the remarks, in their letter of 10th March, applied to the supposed case of an officer of the Company's service receiving sums of money from one of the princes of India; the rules of the service, and the Act of Parliament, referred to in that letter, being applicable to such case.

Sir John then placed his resignation in the hands of the East India Company, after a service of twenty-six years; and having again requested, on the Maharajah's part, that the proposed arrangement might now be carried out, was answered in these words (under date, April 21st, 1858):—". . . . I am instructed by the Court to inform you that, in their opinion, the matter is not one in which they can, with propriety, interfere."

On resigning the service, Login addressed a short memorandum to the Court of Directors, in which he says:—

The favour I solicited from Government, and which the Maharajah requested on my behalf, was merely that they would

permit the annuity which His Highness wished to settle upon me, to be deducted from his pay *in the same manner as other deductions had been previously made, at his request*, in order that the circumstances under which it had been granted to me should be known officially, and that I should stand in a somewhat more satisfactory relation to the Court, than those officers who, having resigned the Honourable Company's service, had entered into engagements with native princes of India, not of the most creditable kind. I had hoped that the manner in which I had performed my duty, while guardian to His Highness, would have been sufficient to justify the Honourable Court in departing, under very peculiar circumstances, from their ordinary practice in this slight degree. . . . . It may cause some surprise that, during the time I have held my present appointment, I have been able to add only £1,500 to my small savings, partly owing to the fact, that, with a view to give me a more independent position in the management of His Highness's affairs, I credited to his account an allowance of £200 per annum, while *alone* with him in India, and £500 when in England, as my share of table-expenses.*. . . . The Honourable Court, however, have seen fit to refuse the application with the *private* explanation, through one of their members, that I should "consider myself fortunate in having passed through the service so pleasantly as I have done!" . . . . It is not likely, so far as the Honourable Court's treatment in my case is concerned, that my experience can afford encouragement to any other medical officer, to regard so little his private interests in the exercise of his public duty, as I have done.

In March, 1858, Login was appealed to by Sir Charles Trevelyan, then at the Treasury, to assist him

* Besides this, Login paid the wages, &c., of all his own servants, and all educational and travelling expenses for his family.

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in carrying out John Lawrence's wishes, with regard to procuring a permanent endowment for the Lawrence Asylums.

"The matter is somewhat complicated," says Sir Charles, "by the relation which the Special Lawrence Fund and the General Relief Fund, bear to each other. The proper course, I think, will be to throw all the strength we can at first into the Lawrence Fund, and to supplement whatever may be deficient, out of the balance of Relief Fund. . . . . Don't consult any one else *until we can have a conference together to decide our plans*. Perhaps you will go with me, to introduce me to Lady Lawrence to-morrow, or next day."

A few months later, August 13th, came a private intimation from Sir John W. Kaye, to the following effect:—

A move is to be made in the Court of Proprietors against the grant to Sir John Lawrence. . . . . His offence being that he made a public manifestation of his respect for Christianity, and his desire to do justice to native Christians. . . . . We ought to muster not only the friends of the Lawrences, but the friends of Christianity. . . . . Let me hear from or see you as soon as possible, that we may arrange to meet this properly.*

Mrs. Bernard, a sister of the Lawrences, wrote

*Their exertions were successful. See Trotter, vol. ii., p. 105.

Login, February 10th, 1858, of the disappointment felt by the family, that nothing had been done, or even spoken of, up to this date, to honour the memory of their dear brother Henry, by Queen or country. She observed, that the orphan children of one who gave his life for his country, besides having lived for her benefit, and who were but poorly provided for, were surely entitled to the same distinction as had been already conferred on the family of Sir Henry Havelock.

Could you, without pain to yourself, dear Sir John, bring this subject before any of the high personages in the realm? I daresay you will have remarked how John has been passed over, but he is still alive to take care of his own good name. I do not know Lord Stanley personally, or anybody who has any communication with the Court but yourself, or I would write to them; but I would much rather leave it in your hands, knowing how dear his memory is to you, and how much he loved you while alive.

Five days later, Dr. and Mrs. Bernard wrote :—

Your letter has given us great pleasure. We all feel most grateful to you for your most kind and successful exertions in expediting Alick's baronetcy, &c. We enclose a letter to Mr. Vernon Smith, to be given if you approve. The recognition of our dear Henry's merits will be most gratifying to his family, and the annuity to his children most acceptable. We are quite sure it will be an additional pleasure to dear Alick to hear how to the last, as at the first, *you* have been concerned in this matter. . . . .

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We know how grateful Richard* also will be to you. Did you know that this is the eldest of five boys? and Richard is only a regimental Captain, so you may imagine the service you have done him. John never says a word about any honour or reward for himself; but you must have seen how often the nation has said, during the last few months, that the "Saviour of India" should get a peerage and five thousand! . . . . We rejoice that you and Lady Login are again to be employed on work for which you are both so well suited. The present loss of quiet family habits with your own children is a serious one, in bringing this young Princess into your home; but remember, this second important charge is from the Sovereign, not the East India Company, and your children's present loss will be compensated afterwards. Our lads, Alick and Charlie, give an amusing account of how John stopped three days at Rawul Pindee, where Herbert Edwardes and Becher came to meet him; and the three talked over public affairs and arrangements from ten a.m. to six p.m., each of the three days; sometimes one, sometimes another, taking a short nap, and waking up to join in the conversation! On the third evening the two departed, and John went on with his camp. They don't work like this in England!

John Lawrence, writing to his brother-in-law, speaks of the interest his nephew Alick excited among all the Sikh chiefs, who welcomed him most warmly, as the son of Henry Lawrence.

With regard to public affairs, he says:—

I have strongly advocated a discriminative amnesty. I would,

* Henry Lawrence's youngest brother, for whose eldest son Login had obtained an Addiscombe appointment.

on certain terms, forgive all lesser criminals: all those who have not murdered our people; and so economize our powers to hunt down desperate characters. People in England seem to think that we can hold India without a native army. However essential English troops are, native troops are still more so. We can do *nothing* without the latter. . . . . We seem drifting into the old system. Now, of all other opportunities, is the time for change and improvement. . . . .

Give my kindest regards to Login, and thank him for so kindly looking after my interests.

The rule of the East India Company ceased August 2nd, 1858; although it was not till November 1st, that the Queen's Proclamation, announcing that fact, was issued in India, by Lord Canning. Sir C. Phipps, writing to Sir John Login, on September 3rd, alludes to the forthcoming Proclamation:—

I have to thank you very much for your last letter, full of good sense and moderation.

I do not think that you will find in the Queen's Proclamation much, if anything, that you will object to; the great desideratum appears to me to be to convince the inhabitants of India that our rule of their country will be an impartial one. *Your* proposal seems so just that I cannot see how it can be objected to—that the Government should give support to all schools for secular education, allowing the children the free exercise of the religion of their parents, but not preventing them from hearing the truths of the Christian faith, if they wish to do so.

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When the terms of the Proclamation were known in England, Lord Shaftesbury thus writes :—

*Dec. 9th*, 1858.

My dear Sir John,

. . . . Can you spare time to come to pay me a visit at St. Giles, that I may have some Indian talk with you? I want it *much*. . . . .

The Proclamation will do *our* work. The framers did not intend it. Their minds were one way, but God made their pens go another! You may safely deduce from it everything we want. Call on Venn, and talk with him. He takes a bright view, as you do. He is a wise man; the wisest, I think, in the ministry of our Church.

Awaiting reply, I remain,

Yours very truly,

Shaftesbury.

Again, on January 20th, 1859, Lord Shaftesbury makes arrangements for a more lengthened conference at St. Giles, on the subject of Indian missions.

Login was applied to for information by many statesmen interested in Indian questions; among others, the Duke of Marlborough.

*July 10th*, 1858.

My dear Sir John Login,

I beg to return the papers you were kind enough to give me a sight of, together with Sir John Lawrence's letter, which was

most interesting. Need I say what pleasure you would give me, if you could spare time to talk with me on matters relating to these subjects, with which I am *very anxious* to become better acquainted? Chapter XIV. 1858-63.

I remain, dear Sir John,

Yours very truly,

MARLBOROUGH.

Early in September, Duleep Singh writes Lady Login from Mulgrave Castle :—

I wish you would arrange to pay me a visit soon, *before* you get tied down with the Princess; for I do not think it would do for you to bring her here. Any time will suit me, and please invite any of your friends you would like to meet you. What do you say to the Cunninghames, Alexanders, Pollocks, and any others you like? only do arrange it all, and tell me what you decide. I have settled to start for Constantinople on November 1st. I take Thornton and Presanzini, and join Mr. Baker, who is a great *shikar*. I fear there seems little chance of our meeting at Rome. From what Mr. Baker says, I expect good sport on the Danube.

Your affectionate

DULEEP SINGH.

The Maharajah, it will be seen from this, had intended to have some sport on the Danube before going to Constantinople, and started with Mr.—now Sir Samuel—Baker as "guide, philosopher, and friend."

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The expedition, however, did not realize his expectations, and he left Constantinople for Rome, where, much to their surprise, the Logins found him awaiting their arrival.

As he was constantly with them during their stay, Lady Login was in hopes that the young Princess was the attraction; but the Maharajah took an opportunity of telling her that he had considered the matter deeply, and had come to the conclusion that an Englishwoman alone would fulfil his ideal of a wife. As she knew that he had received every encouragement from some of the first nobility in England to seek a wife among their daughters, she foresaw little difficulty in his forming a suitable alliance.

When at Kew, after their return to England in the summer, they had many letters from Duleep Singh from Mulgrave and Auchlyne, full of enjoyment of his bachelor life and fishing; and he steadily declined to appoint any one as equerry, saying he did not want to be tied to any *one* young man as a companion.

Sir John was anxious he should have some reliable person about him, and knowing that he had liked and respected Colonel Oliphant, formerly a member of the Court of Directors, who had lately met with heavy losses, he suggested his asking him on a visit to Auchlyne, to keep him company and enjoy fishing, trusting to his making his own way with him. In a letter from Auchlyne to Lady Login, dated July 9th, 1859, the Maharajah says:—

I am very glad I have followed Sir John's advice, and asked Colonel Oliphant here. He seems quite happy fishing, though he meets with indifferent sport, the water being so low. I have been away, at Susie, in order to get a shot at the deer, and have been sitting up at night watching for them, when they come to eat the corn. Colonel Oliphant does not give any trouble, and I am really thinking of doing as Sir John advised, and asking him to come to me when I require an equerry, but it must only be now and then, not to live with me always. I think this would meet the Queen's wishes too. I think he would just do, for he would not be a stranger to me, and I would feel free. What a good boy you will call me, when you will know that I actually did what you suggested in your letter, *before* I got it! and I intend to take him with me, on my return, as far as York, where our roads separate.

Later on, in August, he writes, giving an account of his grouse shooting, &c. :—

I hope, from what you say, that you seriously think of agreeing to my proposal, that you bring all the children to Mulgrave next month; they can easily go to Whitby daily for sea-bathing. Can you arrange to come on the 1st September, to meet Lord and Lady Normanby? Otherwise I will be in a great fix, for all my time will be taken up with the shooting arrangements for the first fortnight, and there will be no lady to entertain my guests, unless you come; besides I want to arrange, with Colonel Oliphant, to come there for a beginning. There is a nice nursery at Mulgrave, and I will make arrangements for the whole party, and, if you like, get some of the young Oliphants to come, as companions for them.

Mind you get a photograph taken for me of my baby god-

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daughter. Hoping sincerely to hear, by return of post, that you see no objections to complying with my request.

I remain, &c.

DULEEP SINGH.

In November of the same year, when paying a visit to Lord Grosvenor, he writes :—

EATON, CHESTER, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

My patience is quite exhausted! do, for *goodness sake*, get the Government to settle with me, and pay my arrears as soon as possible! I *do believe* they will take *another year* to settle my affairs!* I trust to you to stir them up, for I dread getting into debt. I am glad the poor Shahzadah has at last got a *jagheer*, however small.

I am going to a ball this evening, and expect (tell Lady Login) to meet the lovely Lady F——!

Will you write me to Teddesley, where I shall be for a few days, and say if you will have me on a visit at Kew, if I run up on December 5th? If you cannot take me, ask the Melvilles if they will.

Affectionately yours,

DULEEP SINGH.

The Shahzadah had written Sir John, imploring him to get the Maharajah, as head of his family, to make

* Little did he think that *thirty years later* they would still be unsettled!

him an allowance to enable him to marry; he being, at present, dependent on his mother's pension.

After a long correspondence, a small *jagheer* was given the Shahzadah, 8,000 rupees per annum (less than £800 per annum), which the Government, in spite of Duleep Singh's remonstrance, considered ample provision for the only son of Maharajah Shere Singh. The visit to Mulgrave was paid, but Lady Login only took the two small children with her (one being the little god-daughter of the Maharajah). The Marquis of Normanby (owner of Mulgrave Castle) was there, with the Marchioness, and a succession of visitors; Colonel Oliphant was duly installed as equerry.

Duleep Singh made a charming host, and did all he could to make the visit pleasant to his guests. He was very eager after sport, and one day nearly bagged an archbishop, when after partridges! A covey rose on the other side of the public road, close to which he was standing, just as the Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson) drove past, on his way to the Castle. In his excitement and eagerness not to lose his birds, the Maharajah lost his head, and gave his guest rather a *warmer* reception than he expected, for he fired right across the carriage, the shot passing in dangerous proximity to the Archbishop's shovel hat!

The Rajah of Coorg (father of the Princess Victoria Gouramma) died about this time, after a lingering illness. He had only been able to visit his daughter twice

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at Kew before he was taken ill. It was very sad to see them together, neither of them able to understand the other; the Rajah could not speak English, and the child had forgotten her native tongue, so that Lady Login had to be interpreter. After the Rajah was seized with his fatal illness, Lady Login took the Princess to visit him at his house, and, on one of these occasions, he took the opportunity of making over to his daughter the jewels he had set aside as her portion, so that there might be no trouble afterwards, and that he could leave the rest to his family, at Benares. After the death of the Rajah, it was discovered that in his will he had appointed Sir John Login his executor, to carry on to its conclusion his suit against the Honourable Company, for some Government paper they had seized, after his country was annexed. Login was able to get some pension arranged for his large family, at Benares, who were left, for a time, in great destitution, by the sudden cessation of the Rajah's pension; but, of course, the case against the Company failed!

Hearing that Lady Login had been ill, Duleep wrote thus to urge her to pay him a visit in Scotland, in August:—

My dear Lady Login,

I am delighted to hear from Sir John, to-day, that you are really better. He, at last, consents to your paying me a visit, in Scotland. I'll ask Frank Boileau to come at same time. Do fix

a day, and I'll have everything ready for you. There will be rooms in the house for all, except Frank and Edwy, and they must sleep at the inn across the water. Chapter XIV. 1858-63.

Your affectionate

DULEEP SINGH.

The Maharajah arranged to go out to India in December, 1860, intending to stay for some tiger shooting, to see his mother, and arrange with Government for her future residence in British territories.

He had taken an active part in promoting, with the sanction of the Queen, a marriage between the Princess Gouramma of Coorg, then under the care of her godfather, Sir James Hogg, and Lady Login's brother, Colonel John Campbell (Madras Army), whose acquaintance the Princess had made after leaving* Lady Login's charge.

The Maharajah's chief reason for wishing to pay a visit to India was his anxiety about his mother. Hearing that she was thinking of employing a stranger to make an application to Government, he was anxious to prevent her taking such a step; but, after the experience of the forged letters, he was careful that there should be no doubt about the authenticity of any

* On making over the Princess to Lady Catherine Harcourt, Lady Login had been much gratified to receive an autograph letter from the Queen, expressing Her thanks to Lady Login for having undertaken the charge at her request, and for the manner in which she had fulfilled it. This was followed by the gift of a bracelet, "as a more durable mark of the Queen's appreciation."

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communication from himself. So, as Sir John Login happened to be writing privately to Mr. Bowring, private secretary to Earl Canning, the Maharajah took advantage of the opportunity to enclose a letter for his mother, with the request that it might be forwarded to the Resident at Khatmandoo, who would be able to see that it was safely delivered into the Maharanee's own hands.

Mr. Bowring replied:—

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CAMP, PANIPUT,
*Jan. 8th*, 1860.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

. . . . I received a short time ago your letter, forwarding a note from Maharajah Duleep Singh to his mother, Ranee Jinda, which has been sent to Colonel Ramsay with a request that he will deliver it to her. The Governor-General, to whom I showed your letter, has written a despatch upon the points referred to in your letter, viz., the Maharajah's desire to visit India, and the advisability of allowing the Ranee to reside in British territory. On this latter point, I believe his Excellency is of opinion that she may be permitted to do so. . . . . Colonel Ramsay speaks of her as much changed. She is blind, and has lost much of the energy which formerly characterized her, taking apparently but little interest in what is going on. . . . .

The Governor-General does not object to the Maharajah's visiting India, though he does not deem it advisable that he should proceed to the Punjab. His Excellency's despatch, which I have mentioned, should you see it, will place you quite *au courant* of his views on the subject.

I much regret that little Sheo Deo Singh was prevented from

visiting England with the Maharajah. He is a promising youth, and some day may have influence, which it would be well to direct beneficially. I fear that his proposed marriage with the daughter of the Shamgurh Sirdar, a small chief in the Thanesur District, will not prove advantageous to him. Chapter XIV. 1858-63.

As far as we can see at present the temper of the Sikhs is good. . . . .

Yours very sincerely,

L. Bowring.

This correspondence with the Viceroy's private secretary was apparently not viewed with favour at the India Office, where there existed some desire to sever all connection between Sir John and his former ward, for on the 31st March, 1860, Sir C. Wood informed the Maharajah that :—

Sir John Login having ceased to be officially connected with your Highness, any application made by him, on your part, cannot be officially recognized; and it would, in all cases, be advisable, that you should communicate your wishes, . . . . in the first instance, to Her Majesty's Government.

To this the Maharajah replied :—

I regret that the Viceroy having written a despatch to you on the subject of my return to India, founded on a private note written by Sir John Login to Mr. Bowring, his Excellency's private secretary, you should have been led to

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suppose that I had wished to communicate officially with the Government of India, on any subject, without, in the first instance, submitting my wishes to Her Majesty's Government.

. . . . Being quite aware that Sir John had ceased to be officially connected with me, it never occurred to me, nor, I believe, to him, that his private note would be *officially* recognized.

The Maharajah having left for India to see his mother, and to have a season's tiger shooting, Sir John Login wrote him at Calcutta as follows:—

LONDON, *Jan.* 18*th*, 1861.

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

As objections are likely to be made at the India Office, to the recognition of my authority to act as your attorney and agent—without a formal and legal document—on the ground, I believe, of your having—since the former power was given to me—been in direct communication with the Secretary of State on the subject* (which by law invalidates the power), I have asked Messrs. Graham and Lyde to prepare another power of attorney, which I now send to you, and also a copy of the former one, in order that you may see in what they differ.

The new power is made out, as you will see, to enable me merely to settle your affairs with the Government, which leaves it open for you, if you like, to grant another to Oliphant for other matters; but if you wish to continue to me the same power as you gave before, it can be written out accordingly

*At a private interview with Sir C. Wood, at India House, Duleep Singh signed a paper prepared in his presence, Jan. 20th, 1860.

by Messrs. Judge, or any other respectable solicitor in Calcutta, whom you may employ.

There is another difference—the power is not limited to your absence from the United Kingdom—but as it is rendered null (if the Government position be correct) by your entering into personal correspondence with them on the subject, this is of no consequence, as you can at any time set it aside. Just settle it in your own mind whether to limit it to Government matters, or extend it to others, as you may think best; but do kindly let me have the document one way or other, with the least possible delay.

Sir Charles Phipps told me that now was the time to push the Government, as *I* should come in for all their blame in having the matter agitated, and that *you* could suffer no damage by my proceedings; and as he knew that I did not much care for their annoyance, so long as I had a good cause, he thought it by far the best opportunity for *you* to get the question advanced! So you see how coolly I am recommended to fight your battles. Well, be it so! It will be a great happiness to me if I can get our people to do what is liberal and right, to enable me to hold up my head before you, and to say that I am not ashamed of them. My dear Maharajah, it requires some knowledge of our national character to understand us! Because the Council of India do not benefit a single *pie* themselves, and think they stand up for the interests of 200 millions of subjects, they'll fight until they have not a leg to stand on, while all the time they have the most perfect goodwill to you, and would like to see you happy! However, it will all come right yet; I have every confidence.

[Here follows a description of Applecross Estate.]

* * * * * *

Edwy is at Roehampton with the Melvilles. Frank (Boileau) and his brothers are as busy as possible skating on the Serpen-

Chapter XIV. 1858-63. tine. What a contrast to your grilling at this moment near Aden, I suppose! My wife and all here join in kindest regards to you.

Believe me ever, my dear Maharajah,

Your most sincere and faithful friend,

J. S. LOGIN.

P.S. Get Bowring to hasten on the accounts; you can explain to the Shahzadah that it is out of your power to do much for him, until they have been settled in England, by the Secretary of State.

The Maharajah writes from Calcutta :—

SPENCE'S HOTEL, *Feb.*, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I received your second letter, and reply at once, as the mail is going. I think I would prefer "Applecross" of the two properties, if the grouse and the salmon fishing are both good. Oh, it is too cruel of you to write me, so soon after coming out here, about an estate in Scotland, for now I cannot make up my mind to stay a day longer than is necessary to see my mother! Your letter has almost driven me wild; so you may expect to see me back sooner than I thought of when I left. I have got the Shahzadah here on a visit. He is a very quick, intelligent lad, but a thorough native in his manners, I regret to say. He wishes to marry another wife already! You will be surprised to hear that he has no objection to read the Bible now, and often reads a chapter to me, and listened attentively when the Rev. Gopee Nauth Nundy read the Scriptures and explained them to him, though he would not stay for prayers. I have no doubt he will one day be a Christian. He has no objection to be touched by low-caste people, as long as none of his people are present!

He tells me he has no belief in his own religion, and would like to go with me to England if he could, without his mother knowing!

Now, I must tell you that India is a beastly place! I heartily repent having come out, for I cannot get a moment's peace with people following me, and all my old servants bother the life out of me with questions. The heat is something dreadful, and what will it be in another month? I hate the natives, they are such liars, flatterers, and extremely deceitful! I would give anything to be back in dear England, among my friends! I cannot think or write about anything else but this property. Oh! buy it for me, if possible. My mother is to be at Rani Gunj in ten or twelve days. I wish her to await me there, as it is quieter than Calcutta. I have heard (not officially) that she is to have from two to three thousand a year, but will know for certain when the Governor-General returns here. They gave me a salute of twenty-one guns, and, *you* will be amused to hear, *an escort of two sowars!* and a guard of one *paharah* of four Sepoys, and a Naick!

Sheo Ram is here. I am sending him to my mother, as she is surrounded with very low fellows. Sowdagar, Kashee, and Bolund Khan all send their most respectful salaams to you, Lady Login and Harry; they are so glad to hear about you.

Yours affectionately,

DULEEP SINGH.

A little later he writes again :—

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have signed, and send herewith, the full power of attorney. Mr. Bowring told me yesterday he thought the accumulation would not be *much* over £70,000 (*without* interest), but was not

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sure, but that all the papers would be sent off to England without delay. I hope you are arranging about "Applecross." I am trying to get a house outside Calcutta, for my mother. I have not yet settled whether I remain over the hot weather here, going up to the hills, and then returning to England. I am to have elephants from Government for tiger shooting. It is already very hot. Shahzadah is very anxious to come with me to England, but does not expect to manage it.

Yours affectionately and sincerely,

DULEEP SINGH.

P.S.—Since I wrote this, my mother has declared she will not separate from me any more, and as she is refused permission to go to the hills, I must give up that intention; and, I suppose, we shall return to England as soon as I can get passage.

*Letter from* COLONEL RAMSAY, *Resident at Khatmandoo.*

NEPAL RESIDENCY, *Nov. 28th*, 1860.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

....I quite agree with your estimate of Jung Bahadoor; a more unprincipled scoundrel does not tread the earth. He would have taken part against us at the time of the Mutiny, if it had not been for that providential visit of his to England, and the experience he gained there; and for this we have to thank your poor brother, who exerted such a wise influence over him, and persuaded him to the step.

Jung has often told me so himself, and one of his brothers told me the same thing, as early as the month of June, in that eventful year, adding that every attempt was being made by influential men, to induce him to join in driving us out of the country, but that no persuasion would cause him to commit such an act of

suicidal folly. The Government will be in a dilemma respecting the ex-Maharanee of Lahore, unless they or Duleep Singh are prepared to allow her a permanent substinence in our provinces. Jung Bahadoor longs to get rid of her, for various reasons personal to himself, and declares that if ever she sets foot in the British provinces, she shall never be allowed to re-enter Nepal, or receive a stiver from his Government. He declares she now gets 20,000 rupees per annum, which he grudges exceedingly. He also wants her mansion, which is on his own premises. They are always quarrelling, and she contrives to wound him on a tender point—his vanity. Pray offer my best regards to Lady Login. That is surely not a brother of hers who married the Princess Gouramma of Coorg the other day! Her sister, who married Jung Bahadoor some years ago, is now a very fine-looking young woman, and seems happy enough. The other sister, whom he also brought with him from Benares in 1858, was sadly duped, and wanted to go back to her brothers. She is said to be very unhappy—at least, she was some months ago, but I have not heard of her lately.

Believe me, my dear Login,

Yours very truly,

G. RAMSAY.

About the time of Duleep Singh's visit to India, several Sikh regiments, who had arrived from China, besieged his hotel, and were very demonstrative in their welcome to their former ruler. Though perfectly amenable to discipline, their excitement was great, and in consequence, Lord Canning thought it desirable to urge the Maharajah, to give up his intention of going up country, and to return to England at once. Although the Maharajah had gone

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to great expense in preparing for a season's sport, having brought out with him an india-rubber boat and a swivel duck-gun, besides all the latest inventions in rifles, &c., for tiger shooting, he yielded his own wishes gracefully, and took passage for himself and his mother in the first available steamer for England.

On the voyage home, Duleep Singh wrote Sir John Login to beg him to secure a house in his neighbourhood (Lancaster Gate), where he might bring his mother on arrival, until her jewels and property could be landed safely, and passed through the custom-house. He said *he* had been very sea-sick, but that she had borne the voyage well! He was anxious, at the same time, to have good medical advice for her in London, as he feared her health was seriously impaired. A large empty house in Lancaster Gate was taken, and Sir John sent in some furniture, and arranged cooking-places for the natives out in the area.

Jinda Koür was truly an object of commiseration when one contrasted her present with her former state. To see her now, with health broken, eye-sight dimmed, and her once-famed beauty vanished—it was hard to understand the power she had wielded through her charms. It was only when she grew interested and excited in conversation, that one caught glimpses, beneath that air of indifference and the torpor of advancing age, of that shrewd and plotting brain which had distinguished the famous "Messalina of the Punjab."

She had brought with her several native servants, both male and female, but Soortoo, a slave, who had been born in her house, and had followed her mistress' fortunes, was her favourite and confidential attendant; she had also been Duleep's playmate as a child, being about his own age.

The Maharanee was full of curiosity about the customs and manners of the English. She was much shocked to find, on Lady Login's presenting to her her little boy (aged eight years), that as yet his marriage had not been arranged, nor a suitable *partie* selected!

She paid Lady Login the great compliment of a return visit, when she was *assisted* up the stairs to the drawing-room floor by several servants (a piece of Oriental *etiquette* which her infirmities rendered perhaps not unnecessary). The exertion, indeed, to her, must have been most fatiguing, and a great mark of condescension on her part, for she appeared dressed in full English costume—bonnet with feather, mantle, dress, and large crinoline complete!—which she had put on *over* her native dress! It was no wonder, therefore, that with the added weight she found it difficult to walk. The crinoline with which she was encumbered would not permit the poor Ranee to seat herself, until two of her servants lifted her bodily on to a chair, on which she was then able to sit comfortably, Indian fashion, with her feet under her, while her crinoline spread all around! She had only just received her jewels from the custom-house, and was naturally

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delighted to have them again in her possession; for since her flight from Chunar Fort to Nepal, the Indian Government had retained them, and only delivered them to her at Calcutta when she embarked for England. On this occasion she was decorated with a large assortment, the most remarkable being some beautiful pearls and emeralds, which, as a graceful concession to English fashion, she had arranged in a sort of fringe beneath her bonnet, in place of the "cap" usually worn at that period, inside the brim!

She was evidently quite surprised to find Sir John Login so different from what she had imagined him to be, and took occasion to inform him, with great *naïveté*, that, if she had only known before what kind of man he was, she would never have plotted to have him poisoned! A hint of the Maharanee's kind intentions *had* reached him at Futtehghur!

As soon as the Maharajah had departed for India, in the preceding December, Login forwarded to the India Office (December 22nd) the power of attorney made out in his favour, in 1857; and also an autograph letter, from Duleep Singh, dated Southampton, December 20th, 1860, empowering him to act as his attorney in settling his affairs with the Government.

These credentials the Indian Office refused to recognize, and a smart interchange of letters took place, no less than six passing, before the Indian Office would give any reason for this refusal to recognize a document, which had *already* been recognized, and

acted upon, by the Court of Directors. At length (February 22nd, 1861), Lord de Grey and Ripon (then Under Secretary of State) declared that the power of attorney was illegal, having been drawn out when the Maharajah was a minor, and *ignored* altogether the autograph letter.

On this, Login obtained a legal opinion from Mr. J. F. Leith, Q.C., Member of Parliament for Aberdeen, one of the highest authorities on Indian law, and well-known, for many years, at the Calcutta Bar.

This gentleman gave, as his opinion, that the Maharajah could not be compelled to adopt European forms in his dealings with the Government; and that, as an Indian prince, he was entitled to appoint an agent. Login, therefore (while to prevent delay he applied to the Maharajah for a fresh power of attorney), protested (March 2nd, 1861) against the indignity offered the Maharajah, by the exclusion of his agent from the position assigned him by His Highness, remarking that the Maharajah's relations to the Government were secured by treaty; and that, in transacting business with them, he was only bound to produce evidence of his appointing a person to act for him as his agent; this evidence was sufficiently shown by the power of attorney, *and the autograph letter.* This, he reminded the Government, is all that is required in the case of any Indian prince.

On the 6th of April, Login presented, *under protest,* the fresh power of attorney; but when, on April 20th,

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he asked to see the statement of account of the pension fund (applied for a year before from the Government of India), he was told that it had not yet arrived, but that when it did, "Sir C. Wood would communicate about it with the Maharajah on his arrival"; thus plainly revealing that their object, all through, had been to gain time and deal with the Maharajah himself, and thus endeavour to ignore the legal instrument which they themselves had stipulated for. With the same view, in the month of July following, when Login renewed his application, he was answered by Sir C. Wood (July 27th), that the statement had at length been received, but that the Secretary of State would "communicate with the Maharajah on the subject!"

MULGRAVE CASTLE, *July*, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

As I have not yet heard from Sir C. Wood, although I have been in England now three weeks, I begin to think that he is waiting to receive a letter from *me personally*, and thus throw your power of attorney to act for me aside. However, I will disappoint him in this, for I wish *you* to act for me entirely in settling my affairs with the Government. Will you, therefore, kindly address him about this delay, and also tell him that *all* letters connected with the settlement of my affairs should be addressed to *you*, and *not to me*, and this will show him how I desire the thing to be done. My mother is delighted with

Mulgrave, but I cannot get her to agree to live separate from me at Lythe Hall, as you advise.

We hope to start for Scotland on Thursday.

Ever your sincere and affectionate

DULEEP SINGH.

P.S.—Kindly let me have a copy of any letter you write to Sir C. Wood.

Two days later he writes :—

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Colonel Oliphant has just received a *private* letter from Sir Charles Wood, to say that my papers are now before the committee, and will be shortly ready to send! So you see I was right! Will you at once write to Sir Charles that I wish to have my papers sent to me *through you*. As soon as you receive them, I should like very much if you would come yourself to Auchlyne and bring them with you. I wish very much to have a conversation with you about my private property in the Punjab and the Koh-i-noor diamond, and, perhaps—if you really can come—you will kindly procure and bring with you the Punjab Blue Book.

We are just starting for the north. My kindest love to all.

Ever yours,

DULEEP SINGH.

Here we have the first mention of *private estates*, and no doubt it was the information given him by

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Jinda Koür (who, as Queen Regent, must have drawn their revenues,) that prompted the Maharajah *years afterwards* to study the Blue Book at the British Museum, and bring forward his claim to the old family estates of Runjeet Singh, before he became ruler of the Sikh nation.

Login, having submitted Mr. Leith's legal opinion on the Maharajah's rights under the Treaty of Lahore to Colonel Phipps for perusal, received the following reply :—

OSBORNE, *Aug. 4th*, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Many thanks for your letter. I have read it and the enclosed legal opinion with great attention. I feel convinced that the best course which the Maharajah can pursue is, as you suggest, to submit his claims to some impartial persons, in whose judgment he might have confidence.

The constant advancement of fresh argument, and the establishment of a chronic state of contest with the Government authorities, cannot be advantageous to him.

The legal opinion may be a perfectly correct one, but these matters must be settled by the rules of common sense, and legal splitting of hairs only provokes equal ingenuity on the other side. I feel sure that any equitable arrangement arrived at by honourable and impartial men, would be both better and more satisfactory than a constant state of contest and uncertainty. The arrival of the Maharanee in England is a misfortune, though it is impossible to oppose his filial wish. I hope he will see the inconvenience of having her and her attendants in the same house with him. I am

glad to hear such good accounts of the Princess Gouramma. Pray remember me very kindly to Lady Login,

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Ever sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

SIR JOHN SPENCER LOGIN.

Duleep Singh writes from Auchlyne to Sir John, August 1st, 1861, announcing that Sir C. Wood has sent the papers to him *direct*, in spite of all orders to the contrary; that he can do nothing unless he comes up to him to examine them, and begs he will start as soon as he can; that he is very busy training his hawks and dogs, &c., and cannot settle to business, ending, "My mother begs to send her best salaam to the kind Doctor Sahib."

Sir John had gone with his family to North Wales, and after settling them for the summer, went to Vichy to take the waters, and while there another letter came for him to Llandulas, from Duleep Singh, announcing the sudden death of his secretary, John Cawood, and the shock it had caused him. This letter announced his determination to throw up all his worldly prospects, and to return to India with his mother, to devote the rest of his life to God's service, in trying to evangelize the heathen, and begging that application be at once made for leave for his going back. Lady Login sent the letter on to Sir John, and wrote the Maharajah begging of him to take time to think before taking any serious step,

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or even before publicly announcing his intentions, and that some proof would be required of the stability of his convictions. He replied, thanking her much for her letter, and regretting that it was out of his power to follow Sir John to Vichy, which he would have done had he not to go to Mulgrave to receive visitors there. He wrote from Mulgrave, September 22nd:—

I wish it were only possible for you and Lady Login to come by the middle of next week, for I do long to see you, and to be once more able to read with you in the mornings, as we used to do long ago, when we lived together. I feel it very difficult to lead a Christian life; I am constantly erring before God, and really some of my sins I cannot give up.

Login had been trying to persuade the Maharajah to have a separate establishment from his mother, the influence was very bad for him, and he was sadly tempted to lapse into native habits. His mother seemed to have no objection to his being a Christian, and he had great hopes of her becoming a convert herself. At this time his religious feelings were in a very excited and unsettled state, he was ready to enquire into every different opinion and try every sect in turn.

When in London, he used to go with Sir John and Lady Login to church on Sunday, and on one occasion he did not turn up as expected; but on their

return from church, they found Mrs. Claridge, the landlady of his hotel, waiting to see them. She informed Sir John that she was so interested in His Highness, that she could not see him led astray by other young men, without speaking; besides, she did not like such doings in her house! It appeared, that a young friend of His Highness had lately become a Plymouth brother, and was trying to induce His Highness to follow his example; that he had persuaded him not to go to church that morning, saying *he* could administer the Holy Communion to him at home; that the waiters had been scandalized by the proceedings in consequence, and she did not like it! All this will show the unsettled state of his mind at this time on religious points, and how eagerly he was blindly groping after light.

He was able to resume his usual sport before September had quite passed, and writes:—

I have been having capital sport these last few days, averaging forty brace daily. I address this to Lancaster Gate, as Sir John said you would be back by this time. I want you and he very much to come for ten days, or as long as you can stay, and you *must* bring my little godchild with you; indeed, you really must not come without her! I want your advice also about getting a good likeness of my mother (in oils). The Normanbys are here, and beg to send their kind regards.

It was in this year (1861) that the Order of the

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Star of India was founded, in the establishment of which Order the Prince Consort took a lively interest, himself drawing up its charter and regulations. It was thus a token of the esteem in which H.R.H., as well as Her Majesty, held the young Indian Prince, that the name of Duleep Singh appeared in the very first list of recipients, as Knight Grand Cross of the Order. The Prince Consort had previously, on the Maharajah's first arrival in England, with gracious kindliness and interest, himself designed for him an appropriate coat-of-arms, and selected the motto: *Prodesse quam conspici* (to do good rather than be conspicuous), which, with the crest, appears on the cover of this volume.

The sorrow which fell upon the nation at this time was felt by none more acutely than by Login, who brought from Windsor the sad tidings of the death of the noble-hearted Prince Consort.

5, LANCASTER GATE, *Dec. 30th*, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,

It was very kind indeed of you to write me to explain your inability to see me when I went up to Windsor on the 14th. I did not, under the circumstances, expect that you would, and felt it necessary to have a note prepared to excuse myself for having attempted it. I had, on two or three occasions, made inquiries at Buckingham Palace, before the bulletins were issued, and ventured, in my anxiety, to do so at Windsor.

If the universal sympathy of the civilized world, and the heart-

felt sorrow of the millions who delight to acknowledge her sovereignty, and to take a deep and affectionate interest in all that concerns the welfare of our most beloved and gracious Queen, can in any way tend to alleviate grief, under so sad a bereavement. Her Majesty must have enjoyed that consolation to an extent to which the history of the human race affords no parallel; nor can I doubt that the manner in which the virtues of one whom she loved so well have now been honoured and appreciated, as an example to humanity, can be otherwise than most gratifying. I sincerely trust, however, that these have afforded only a small portion of that consolation with which Her Majesty has, through Divine grace, been sustained in her deep affliction, and that its sanctifying influences may be abundantly experienced by all who are dear to our beloved Queen!

Again he writes:—

. . . . I have for the last few days been anxious to write to you on the Maharajah's affairs, but have been prevented by the fear of being intrusive, while your attention must be occupied so incessantly. But in the hope that you will excuse my wish to avail myself of any leisure which you may happen to have, I shall send this, although you may not be able to acknowledge it for some time.

I am afraid that the Maharajah is getting thoroughly under his mother's influence, and that our only hope of saving him from discredit is to get him to live apart from her, as had been arranged, and to find some suitable companion of his own age to reside with him. He authorized me to look out for a young man to attend lectures with him, but changed his mind. When he was last in town, he was again full of arrangements for an estate in India, and to return there, after a short time, and most anxious to accept

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the Government offer, for anything they might be disposed to give *without trustees*, so that he should have *entire control over the amount*, but I told him, that I considered such an arrangement to be very inexpedient, and that, if such were his determination, I had better withdraw. I accordingly have written the enclosed letter, which I shall send to him on your returning it to me.

Sir John Lawrence has been quite prepared to go into the case, if submitted to his decision; but, on the 19th instant he wrote me, "Sir Charles Wood has never said a word to me since I was at Windsor, and I, of course, have not referred to it myself."

J. S. L.

To this Sir Charles replied :—

OSBORNE, *Jan. 4th*, 1862.

. . . . I am very sorry to hear what you say about the Maharajah—nothing could be so destructive to him as that he should succumb to his mother's, or any other native influence. He is too good to be so lost; and, if I were in your place, I should certainly not, at such a moment, forsake any position which gave me any influence over him, or could possibly tend to prevent his doing anything foolish. I do not think, if it were pointed out to him, he would do anything wrong.

I should have answered you some days since, but you may conceive what this house is at present! for the very air we breathe is an atmosphere of sorrow, and that is a bad medium in which to transact business.

Always very sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

5, LANCASTER GATE, *Jan. 8th*, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,

. . . . If I could, for a moment, suppose that, by retaining the papers connected with his case, and by continuing to act for him at the India Office—while we differed so much in respect to the arrangements which appeared advantageous to his interests,—I would be more likely to maintain any influence I possess with him, I would, of course, regret very much, especially at the present time, to be under the necessity of doing so. But, as I think I know the Maharajah very well, and that, so far from weakening my influence with him by doing so, I am more likely to strengthen it, I have still thought it better to send the letter and papers, trusting that I shall yet be able to make it clear to you that I have done right. . . . . While I have returned him all the official documents and memoranda connected with his claims, I have expressed my readiness to give him every assistance in my power in explaining any points required, . . . . and satisfied him that I have only his best interests at heart, . . . . and do not give up the charge of his case under any feeling of temporary annoyance at his vacillation—but certainly more in sorrow than in anger. I feel very certain that, after having done this, and giving him, I hope, another proof that I am not actuated by selfish motives—of which, like all Orientals with whom I have come in contact, he is very suspicious—he will give more weight to the remonstrances which I think it necessary to make, against the self-indulgence to which he gives way so much. I think, also, that when it becomes known that (rather than have anything to do with an arrangement which I cannot but consider most *improper* and *injudicious* on the part of Government, and which I certainly believe would never have been thought of, had they not been most anxious to make it appear that their first proposal of settlement was very liberal), I have determined to give up my position near him, they may look a little more carefully into the

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matter; at least (although I may flatter myself a little too much in supposing it to have this effect), I shall, at all events, have done my duty in thus . . . . protesting against it.

. . . . Most earnestly do we all hope and pray that our beloved Queen may be enabled, through Divine strength, to continue to set before Her people that bright example of Christian resignation and Christian duty, for which they have hitherto had so much cause to be grateful. . . . .

Believe me, very sincerely yours,

J. S. Login.

Osborne, *April 13th*, 1862.

My dear Sir John,

. . . . I shall be very glad, for the Maharajah's sake, and yours also, when his affairs are finally settled, for all this constant uncertainty and negotiation must be very annoying. He ought to be very grateful to you for all the trouble which you have taken, for never did anybody work harder for another's interests! . . . .

Pray remember me very kindly to Lady Login. . . . . .

Windsor Castle, *June 16th*, 1862.

. . . . I quite agree with you that it is most important for the welfare of the Maharajah that his mother should not be prevented from returning to India. I fear very much that, as long as he remains under this influence, he will retrogade in his moral and social character, instead of advancing to become an English gentleman, as I thought he was doing. . . . .

C. B. Phipps.

Login's method of dealing with Duleep Singh, at this crisis of his life, proved its wisdom by the result; it

roused the better instincts of his nature, and impelled him to make an effort to save himself from the life of self-indulgence into which he was drifting. Chapter XIV. 1858-63.

He wrote to Sir John in June:—

I have decided to arrange for my mother's return to India, and will see Sir Charles Wood on the subject at once, to have a place of residence fixed for her. I must see you soon, and will go up before I have to attend the marriage of the Princess Alice at Osborne, to which I am invited on July 1st.

Some difficulties were made about the Maharanee's place of residence in India,* so the Maharajah took a separate house for her in London, with an English lady as companion, where she lived till her death, in the following year.

The India Office having made it evident that they wished to deal with the Maharajah *alone* (without any advisers) regarding his future settlement, Login wrote as follows, to his former ward:—

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

When you expressed your desire to be educated as a Christian, I explained to you the sacrifices that a profession of

*Sir John Lawrence, now a member of the Indian Council, writes Login, June 8th, 1862:— There can be no doubt whatever that the Maharanee is better out of India than living in that country. There she is sure to do mischief; here, I admit, she will be equally the evil genius of the Maharajah. It is for the Secretary of State for India to decide which interest is of paramount importance! As to the Maharajah's claim for compensation for losses during the Mutiny, he should *lodge his complaint again*, if he wishes the matter attended to by Sir C. Wood.

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Christianity would entail upon you, with regard to your position among your countrymen and former subjects; and now that the settlement of your affairs is under discussion, I wish to draw your attention to several points, which in your anxiety to secure the provision offered you *personally*, you may be apt to overlook. I have already shown you the responsibilities which devolve upon you as a Christian, and the influence your example may reasonably be expected to exercise on other natives of India. I wish now to point out, that the principles involved in the question between you and the Government are of wide application, and upon their decision much depends.

It rests with you to determine whether a native of India, who has embraced Christianity, can be legally required to give up his birthright, and to divest himself of privileges to which, by the laws of his country, he is entitled. I hope, for the sake of the millions who are, I trust, likely to be interested in the question, that you will not hesitate to have it settled. But besides the principles of general application, there are other points worthy of your consideration which may be affected by it. By the Treaty of Lahore, you very wisely gave up your political position, and all pretensions to sovereignty for yourself and your descendants, under former rights. But your position and privileges as head of your family, are in no way affected thereby.

As it seems to be in every way expedient that you and your immediate descendants (if you have a family) should avoid, for several years to come, the risk of placing yourselves in the way of any temptation to encourage, or keep up, political aspirations in the Punjab, it is strongly to be recommended that you should make up your mind to remain in England, and, if possible, to marry into a family of high character and befitting rank. The arrangements proposed by Government ensure a sufficient provision for them, and with prudent management, you have the power to make them wealthy.

In the event of your securing your position under the Treaty, to

the control of the balances of State pensions, *through trustees*, and your right to devise by *will*, at your death, any unappropriated balances, I would recommend, if you have no personal descendants, that you claim your right, by the laws of India, to adopt an heir (say, your nephew, Sheo Deo Singh, or one of his sons, whose character may give confidence that he is worthy), leave him by will, say, one-third of the unappropriated balances, as your heir, and two-thirds for Christian education among the Sikhs. . . . .



Hatherop Castle was purchased at this time by the Maharajah, with money advanced for the purpose by the Government. In his eagerness to possess an English estate, and accept the large sum of money offered him, he was a little inclined to overlook the interests of others, and forget the duties of his position as head of his family, though reminded by constant appeals from his nephew, the Shahzadah, who was anxiously expecting the settlement of the Maharajah's affairs, in the hopes of obtaining some addition to his paltry allowance.

LOCH KENNARD LODGE, *August 1st*, 1862.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I received yesterday the letter from Sir C. Wood, which I enclose. . . . . The terms offered seem liberal, and I think I ought to accept them; but pray let me know what *you* think and advise.

*Oct. 28th*, 1862.

The letter to Sir Charles Wood has been sent, after altering it in the way you wished.* . . . . I daresay you have by this

* See p. 512.

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time heard that I have bought the place in Gloucestershire (Hatherop) for £183,000, and I think it is a good investment."

The "investment," however, did not turn out so profitable as the Maharajah had anticipated; and in 1863, by the advice and sanction of the Government, it was sold, and the estate of Elveden, in Suffolk, purchased in its place.

Amongst other schemes for the development of India, in which Sir John Login took much interest, was that of the promotion of railroads and tramways. In December, 1862, he was asked by the Board of the Indian Tramways Company—now South Indian Railway Company, of which he was one of the original members—to go out to Bombay as their representative, to confer with the Governor, Sir Bartle Frere, on matters connected with their interests.

This was Sir John's last visit to India. He returned to England in April, 1863, after having thoroughly examined all the various lines proposed, throughout the Bombay Presidency.*

The transition, from the Indian climate to the bitter easterly winds of an English spring, was too sudden, and soon after his return he had his *first* severe illness, and was advised to go to the seaside, for change. He went accordingly, with his family, to Felixstowe, on

* He had intended to go into Bengal also, but the hot weather was too far advanced.

the Suffolk coast, and had been there but a short time, when he received a telegram from the Maharajah, begging him to come to him at once in London, as the Maharanee had died that morning. The Maharajah himself, had been hastily summoned from Loch Kennard Lodge, Scotland, only a day or two before, and had written to Sir John that very morning to say that his mother seemed better since his arrival.

On arrival at Abingdon House, Kensington, where the Maharanee had lived, Sir John and Lady Login found her household in great distress and consternation. The arrangements for the disposal of her remains were left in Sir John's hands, and it was settled that they should be placed temporarily, in an unconsecrated vault in Kensal Green Cemetery, until they could be conveyed to India, to receive the funeral rites of her religion. A large number of Indian notabilities attended this interment, as a mark of respect to the mother of the Maharajah, and to the surprise of every one present, especially of those who knew the effort it cost him to overcome his nervousness in speaking in public, the Maharajah, in a few well-chosen words, addressed the native attendants in their own language, comparing the Christian religion with that of the Hindoo, and assuring them, that in the blood of Christ alone, was their safety from condemnation in a future state. It was an impressive incident in a strange scene!

The Maharajah did not get possession of Elveden,

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until the 29th September, and, owing to necessary repairs and alterations, was not able to take up his residence there, until the following November. He was very anxious, however, that Sir John should inspect his new purchase, and wrote on the 20th September asking him to do so. But this was not to be—his best friend was never destined to see the place, which for the next nineteen or twenty years was the Maharajah's home in England!

A greater loss, a more poignant grief, than had yet come into his life, was this year in store for Duleep Singh. Two months after his mother's death, he had to mourn the loss of him, who, from his early boyhood, now fourteen years before, had been his truest and most faithful friend, on whose wise and disinterested counsel he had been accustomed to lean all his life, whose mind and energies had been throughout devoted to his best interests, and whose bright example of uprightness and integrity had led him to desire for himself a part in a religion which made it possible for a man to lead such "a God-like life on earth!"

On the 18th October, 1863, John Spencer Login passed peacefully into his rest—bearing with him the love and veneration of all who had ever known him, for none could fail to see in him one who "walked with God."

"He was not, for God took him." So sudden was the summons—to him not dread, but welcome

—that it fell as a shock on those who looked for many more years of service to God and man from that untiring brain and energy; yet, though not quite fifty-four years of age, his heart had been weakened by the hard and constant work of his early life in India, and doubtless had suffered a severe strain from the anxiety and worry, arising from the settlement of the Maharajah's affairs.

The little churchyard of Felixstowe, was the scene of a simple but striking ceremony, when, on the 24th October, all that was mortal of John Login was laid in the grave. By their own special desire, the coast-guardsmen of that station, whose hearts he had won during his daily rides along the beach, attended in uniform, under the command of their officer, Lieutenant Hart, R.N., and carried the coffin to the grave. By this kindly act of sympathy and respect, it thus came about that Login received these last earthly honours from that service to which, in his youth, it had been his great ambition to belong.

Very many old and valued friends followed him to the grave, besides his own and his wife's immediate relatives, well-known names in India,—Sir John Lawrence, soon after to be made Viceroy of India, and to receive his peerage; Sir Frederick Currie, Bart.; Sir James Alexander, K.C.B., and many others.*

* One of these, John Marshman, C.S.I., formerly editor of the "*Friend of India*," then taking holiday at the seaside, was an old friend whose society Login had much enjoyed, both being deeply interested in India. Marshman was then busy with his "*History of India*," the first volume only being complete.

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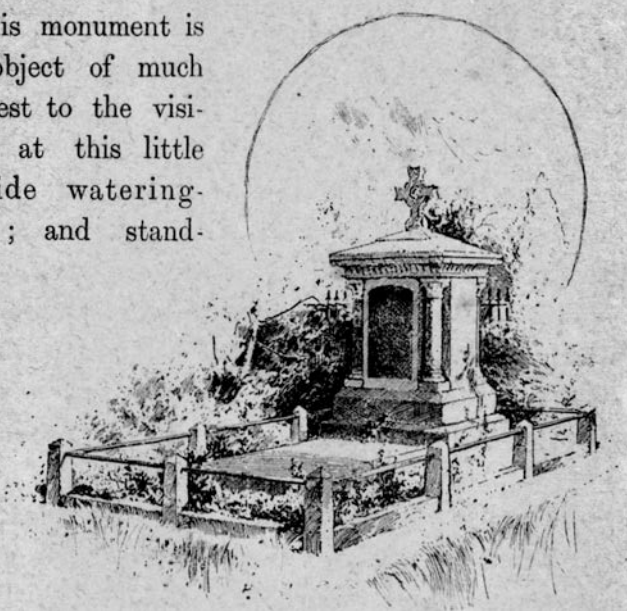
The Rev. William Jay, formerly Chaplain of Futtehghur, read the burial service, assisted by the clergy of the parish.

The grief of Duleep Singh was most intense and unaffected. At once, on receiving the sad intelligence, he hurried to the family at Felixstowe, and, at the funeral, took his place as chief mourner with Login's two sons. One of those present has described the touching spectacle of the Maharajah's impassioned grief beside the grave, as he gave utterance to the words, "Oh, I have lost my *father!*—for he was, indeed, my father, and more than my father!" When speaking of his loss to Lady Login, he said, "If *that* man is not in Heaven, then there is not one word of truth in the Bible!"

The great desire of the Maharajah was that his guardian should be buried at Elveden, in a new mausoleum which he designed to build there as a family burial-place, and he intended the interment at Felixstowe to be only temporary, until such time as this edifice could be completed; but, by Lady Login's wish, the arrangements at Felixstowe were made for a permanent tomb, and, later on, the Maharajah erected to his guardian's memory, in the churchyard there, a beautiful monument of grey-and-red granite and white marble, the design of which was approved by Her Majesty, who herself selected the text to be cut on it —thus marking the estimate of his character formed

by the Sovereign he had so loyally served,* and which she had already expressed, in a letter written by her command to his widow. Chapter XIV. 1858-63.

This monument is an object of much interest to the visitors at this little seaside watering-place; and stand-



* The following inscription is placed on the tomb:—

In Loving Memory
of
SIR JOHN SPENCER LOGIN,
Who died at Felixstowe, October 18th, 1863,
In the 54th year of his age.
This Monument is erected,
By his Affectionate Friend and Ward,
THE MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH,
In Grateful Remembrance of the
Tender Care and Solicitude with which
Sir John Login
Watched over his early years,
Training him up in the pure
And simple faith of Our Lord and Saviour
JESUS CHRIST.

"The memory of the just is blessed."—*Proverbs* x. 7.

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ing, as it does, on the highest piece of ground at that point on the coast, the white marble cross on its summit has served for years as a "leading-mark" for pilots. Thus, in his death, as in his life, he serves his fellow-men—the cross above his resting-place reminding the seaman, as he steers his homeward course, how he also "may so pass through the waves of this troublesome world," as in like manner to attain a safe anchorage in the haven of eternal rest!

Of the many letters written at this time—besides the one from Her Majesty just referred to—only two or three are subjoined; containing, as they do, a tribute to his memory, in the words of those whose good opinion he himself most highly valued.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE,
*Oct. 24th* (5 p.m.), 1863.

MY DEAR MISS LOGIN,*

I can hardly attempt to express to you how shocked I was to see yesterday, when arriving at Edinburgh, the account of the sudden death of my dear friend, your father. I had hoped that he had entirely recovered from his illness, and that we might hope for a long-continued life of usefulness. Lady Login knows how strong was my regard and friendship for him. I find it quite

* This letter was addressed to Login's eldest daughter, who died at Pau two years after her father.

impossible to say how much I regret the loss of so excellent and valued a friend. There were, however, dear Miss Login, few people so well prepared for a sudden call to his Maker, for few people had such strong feelings upon religion, or acted so uniformly upon Christian rules. If I dared to intrude on your dear mother's sacred grief, I would beg to be allowed to assure her of my sympathy in her loss, founded on the deep regard and respect I feel for the truly good man whose loss we mourn. . . . . For you, also, I feel deeply. What must have been your love for such a father! . . . . I have only just arrived in London (5 p.m.), or I should have asked to be permitted to join to-day in the last sad tokens of respect. It would be very kind if you would write again soon, to tell me of Lady Login.



Believe me, very sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *Oct. 27th*, 1863.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

The Queen has this morning commanded me to write to you in her name, to express to you the *deep* and *very sincere sympathy* with which she has heard of the overwhelming affliction which has fallen upon you! Few, indeed, can so well enter into the grief under which you must now be suffering! You are well aware of the high opinion which the Queen entertained of your excellent husband, my valued friend. Her Majesty had frequently shown this, not only in the honour bestowed upon him, but in the confidence so often reposed in him, and never disappointed. He was a thoroughly *good*, *conscientious* man. What higher praise can be earned on earth? What better passport can there be to Heaven?

I hardly know anybody who could be better prepared for a calm, though sudden and entirely painless, end. I did not intend,

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when I began this letter by the Queen's command, to enter into my own feelings; but I had a very *great* and *real* friendship for your most excellent husband, and to me these thoughts are very soothing. I only carry out the Queen's repeated instructions, in assuring you, that sympathy for you is most sincerely combined with true regard and respect for him that is gone.

Believe me always, dear Lady Login,

Sincerely yours,

C. B. Phipps.

Windsor Castle, *Oct*, 28*th*, 1863.

My dear Lady Login,

I had written, but not sent, the accompanying letter by the Queen's command, when I received yours this morning. I feel very strongly the kind exertion you made in writing to me, and I pray God may strengthen and support you! You cannot overrate the regard I had for my dear friend, your husband, and my admiration of his character. I am very glad to hear that the Maharajah has shown so much feeling of the debt of gratitude which he owed to his kind and gentle, but always honest, mentor; it will, indeed, be a terrible loss to him, for Sir John always told him the truth, and gave him the sincerest advice.

The Queen read your letter with the greatest interest. If there is anything kind from Her Majesty that I could say, and have not said, I have so far gone within her commands!

The Queen has been very sorry to read the account you gave of Princess Gouramma's health; she wishes to know whether you think that it would be injurious to her health to come down here to see Her Majesty?

The Queen does not forget the kind manner, in which you and Sir John undertook the care of this poor child, at great personal

inconvenience. If it is too much for you to write and answer this yourself, pray ask your daughter to do so.

Always sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

OSBORNE, *Feb. 17th*, 1864.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

The Queen was very much grieved at the account you gave of the poor little Princess in your letter, and directed me to telegraph at once to enquire for her, in her name.

It is very sad to see one so young cut off, but I think you have long thought that her lungs were in a very unsatisfactory state.

I shall be greatly interested to see the sketch of the monument which you and the Maharajah have approved, and when I go to London shall certainly go to see the model. There has rarely lived a man with a more extended and pure benevolence; and I have certainly learned more of India, and Indian affairs, from him, than from any other man.

I fear, from what you say, that Princess Gouramma is in a very dangerous state. . . . . The dear Maharajah is not always very wise in his decisions,* and I fear there is nobody *now* who has much influence over him. He must miss his faithful Thornton, too. I suppose there is no doubt about his going to India, as you say he intends doing.

Very sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

Again—February, 20th, 1864 :—

The design for the monument is very much liked; it is both quiet, handsome, and in good taste. What do you think of the

*This refers to the Maharajah's expressed intention of visiting the Mission School at Cairo, of which Lady Login had informed Sir Charles.

enclosed inscription? It is simple and short, which I think you wished, but it can easily be added to if wished.* The Queen will 3. *herself* select a text.

Ever sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

LLANDUDNO, N. WALES, *Oct. 26th*, 1863.

DEAR LADY LOGIN,

I have just learnt from the newspaper, the great affliction that has befallen you. I cannot forbear to write, to tell you how much I grieve for you and your children. I know no particulars, but this I know, that you and they have suffered a loss which can never be repaired. There was so much true goodness, honour, and kindness† in Sir John Login, that he did much to make happy all around him; and these qualities, so apparent to his friends, were even more conspicuous in the bosom of his family. I remember his many kindnesses to me when I met him abroad seven years ago, when I was out of health. I shall always think of him as one whom it was a privilege and an honour to know. I can say nothing that will lessen the blow which has been permitted to fall upon you; he whom you mourn knew well the Source of highest consolation, from that Source alone can you derive help to sustain you in this time of your fearful trial. My daughter Helen is in Edinburgh, so I can send no message from her, but I know she will be full of deep sympathy with you. Excuse this note, which does but poorly express what I wish to

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* This inscription was afterwards somewhat enlarged by the Maharajah, who thought it did not express fully enough all that he wished.

† Lord Lawrence's remark to a friend at Sir John Login's funeral was, "I never met another man who so perfectly combined the most straightforward truthfulness with perfect courtesy of manner."

[illegible] r you know th t my r [illegible] d and esteem for your husband [illegible] p and sincere.

Believe me always, dear Lady Login,

Your sincere friend,

JOHN BRIGHT.

Before the Maharajah embarked to convey his mother's remains to India, he spent a week or more with Lady Login, at Felixstowe. He was anxious to help her in every way, and wished to fill the place of the father they had lost, to the children of his guardian.* If anything happened to him during his absence in India, his will was made, he informed her, and he had provided handsomely for his goddaughter. He spoke of his own future with great anxiety, and seemed earnestly desirous to lead a life worthy of his Christian profession. He dreaded a marriage with a worldly woman, such as he might meet with in society, and said that he would like to meet with some young girl whom he might train to be a helpmeet for him. With this view, he said he had made up his mind to visit the Missionary School at Cairo on his way out, and ask the missionaries if they could help him; he had never forgotten the interest these orphan girls had excited in him.

* Edward, the eldest, was appointed to the Indian Finance Department by Sir John Lawrence, Governor-General of India. He died in India, December 16th, 1876.

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Lady Login told him to weigh well beforehand the consequences of such an irrevocable step, as it would influence his whole after-life.

To show her that he was serious, he left with her a paper in which he had sketched out his intentions. During this visit, the Maharajah read with much interest a report of the American missionaries, on the results of their mission at Futtehghur up to the time of the Mutiny, when the mission was destroyed by the mutineers. The report had been sent from America to Sir John Login. An account was given of the successful working of the *ten* schools for boys, established and paid for by Duleep Singh, and superintended by the American Presbyterian Mission, whereby 400 youths were thoroughly educated in the Christian faith, and some were being fitted to evangelize their own people.

The Maharanee Jinda Koür's remains were landed at Bombay, where arrangements were made for her funeral rites, and the ashes were scattered on the sacred waters of the Nerbuddah.

The Maharajah wrote from Bombay to announce his engagement, and soon after the following notice of his marriage in Egypt was published in the *Times of India* :—

THE MARRIAGE OF DULEEP SINGH.—A correspondent of the *Times of India* writes as follows :—"The marriage of the Maharajah Duleep Singh took place at the British consulate, Alexandria,

on the 7th June, in the presence of a very few witnesses. The young lady who has now become the Maharanee is the daughter of an European merchant here. Her mother is an Abyssinian. She is between fifteen and sixteen years of age, of a slight but graceful figure, interesting rather than handsome, not tall, and in complexion lighter than her husband. She is a Christian, and was educated in the American Presbyterian Mission School at Cairo; and it was during a chance visit there, while on his way out to India, that the Prince first saw his future bride, who was engaged as instructress in the school. Duleep Singh wore at the wedding European costume, excepting a red tarboosh. The bride's dress was also European, of white *moiré antique, à fichu pointé d'Alençon*—short lace sleeves, orange blossoms in her dark hair, with, of course, the usual gauze veil. She wore but few jewels; a necklace of fine pearls, and a bracelet set with diamonds, were her only ornaments. The formula of civil marriage at Her Britannic Majesty's consulates in the Levant is very brief. Both parties declare that they know no lawful impediment to their union; then they declare that they mutually accept each other as husband and wife, and the civil ceremony is over. This formula was pronounced by the Prince in English; the bride, in a low but musical voice, read it in Arabi (that being the only language with which she is acquainted), and thus 'Bamba Muller' became the 'Maharanee.' She showed much self-possession through it all. A religious ceremony was performed by one of the American ministers at the house of the bride's father; and the newly-married pair retired to the Prince's house at Ramleh, a few miles from Alexandria."

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The young couple, on their arrival in England, lived in retirement for the first few years at Elveden; a governess being engaged in teaching the young Maharanee English before introducing her to society,

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for which she never cared much, being of a retiring, serious nature. Though very young, she was deeply imbued with religious feeling, and of a sweet and gentle disposition.

The Maharajah used to describe, in an amusing way, his difficulties when attempting to converse with his *fiancée*, on first acquaintance; she only spoke and understood Arabic, so that he had to employ his dragoman as interpreter. He told Lady Login that he had made over Soortoo (his mother's attendant) to the care of Dr. and Mrs. Wilson, Bombay Mission, that she was now baptized and leading a most exemplary life as a Christian. Lady Login heard afterwards that she died at Bombay during an epidemic.

During the spring of 1864, after a long illness, the Princess Victoria Gouramma, of Coorg, died, leaving an infant daughter, for whom, when she felt herself dying, she earnestly bespoke Lady Login's maternal care.* She had deeply felt the death of Sir John Login. The first visit Lady Login paid her after that event, she found her and her little one dressed in deep mourning. Observing how ill and weak she was, Lady Login told her she ought to be in bed; on which she replied, "I only got up and dressed to show you that I mourn, out-

* At Lady Login's entreaty, the Queen arranged that a pension should be allowed by the India Office for the education and support of this child. The Queen, however, made it a condition that she should be entirely under Lady Login's care.

wardly as well as inwardly, for that *good man* who was such a true friend to me." Chapter XIV.

Her Majesty's kindness and solicitude never failed during the Princess's illness; constant enquiries and telegrams were sent by command, and after her death, the following inscription was sent, to be placed on her monument in Brompton Cemetery.*

Of the life of Duleep Singh, after this period, Lady Login can say very little from her own personal knowledge. She did not often visit Elveden, and, save for the occasional visits paid her by the Maharajah, at Felixstowe and in London, she saw little of him and his family.

The Queen showed great kindness to the Maharanee, receiving her at Court and in private most graciously; her unassuming manners and gentle disposition making a very favourable impression.

For many years Duleep Singh's strict religious life was common report, indeed, during the visits Lady Login paid to Elveden, he was much occupied with

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*Sacred to the memory of
PRINCESS VICTORIA GOURAMMA,
Daughter of the EX-RAJAH OF COORG,
The beloved wife of LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN CAMPBELL,
Born in India, July 4th, 1841.
She was brought early in life to England; baptized into the Christian faith, under the immediate care and protection of
QUEEN VICTORIA,
Who stood sponsor to her,
And took a deep interest in her through life.
She died 30th March, 1864.
"Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold."—*John* x. 16.

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religious meetings, in which he took a prominent part.

Some years later, she was aware that he was engaged in composing an opera, and that, in consequence, he was much in London; but she knew nothing of his money difficulties until July, 1883, when the Maharajah came unexpectedly to pay her a "farewell visit," as he said. He had taken passage to India for himself and his whole family in December, intending to resume native life, and be "done with England and her hypocrisies for ever!" He told her that he found he had no longer the means to support the rank *given to him* in England; that the Government had arranged that, at his death, his property was to be sold, so that there was no future to look to for his eldest son, for whom they would only make a provision of £3,000, which he (the Maharajah) considered insulting! He was evidently very angry with the India Office, but when alluding to the Queen, and her great and unfailing kindness to him, he fairly broke down. In consequence of this interview, Lady Login, through Sir Henry Ponsonby, made an appeal to the Queen, telling the substance of her conversation with the Maharajah; and the whole matter was, by Her Majesty, referred to the Secretary of State for India for reconsideration.

It was only natural that the chief opposition to a liberal settlement should come from the *Indian* Government, whose whole anxiety was to be able to report

favourably of Indian finance. Each successive Governor-General had had the command of the accumulations from the Lahore Treaty Fund, and each was unwilling to have them deducted; and, as time went on, and the sum increased, so did the difficulty of parting with it! The Maharajah brought his legal adviser to look over some of Sir John Login's letters and papers, and, before leaving, this gentleman advised His Highness to implore the Queen to use her influence to have all transactions between the Maharajah and the India Office, since Sir John had ceased to act for him, wiped out, and a fresh departure made; because it was evident that he had eagerly accepted, in his difficulties, all baits of money offered, instead of insisting on the real terms of the Treaty being carried out, and a final settlement made. To this the Maharajah cordially agreed. Chapter XIV.

That Duleep Singh was willing and ready to come to some equitable agreement is evident, for he offered to abide by the arbitration of any three English statesmen to be named by the Queen—*if they were unconnected with the India Office!*

His departure for India was deferred, pending the decision of his claims, and the following letter, written to Lady Login, will show that, up to that date, he had no thought of disloyalty:—

CARLTON CLUB, *July 25th*, 1884.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

I am sending you my book, stating my case fully. I think it will interest you. Whatever decision is arrived at, I think I

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have resolved to go to India. There is a storm gathering out there, which will burst ere long, and I trust to be able to render such services as will compel the British *nation* to take up my cause, and recognize my claims as just. The Sikhs saved India for England during the Mutiny, and the chiefs who gave assistance were afterwards rewarded by Government. Why should I not be equally successful? The advance of Russia is watched for with intense joy by many princes of India, whom you believe to be loyal; it is only a matter of a few years; but you will hear what I, the loyal subject of my Sovereign, though unjustly treated, will do, when the time comes! but I must not sound my own trumpet! . . . .

Ever, dear Lady Login,

Yours sincerely and gratefully,

DULEEP SINGH.

After a couple of years' suspense and delay, finding there was little prospect of any satisfactory solution of the question, Duleep Singh, worried and indignant at the treatment he had experienced, carried out his intention, and embarked with his whole family for India, leaving his estates at Elveden at the disposal of the Government.

It would appear that the India Office had never seriously believed in his threat of doing so, for Duleep Singh declares—and the assertion has never been contradicted—that before he left Southampton a member of the Indian Council, whom he named, waited on him from the Secretary of State for India, with an offer of £50,000 if he would remain in England!

What followed is well known.

As soon as he entered Indian waters, he was arrested at Aden, by order of Lord Dufferin, in the presence of his fellow-passengers on board the mail-steamer, and told he must not proceed to India.

The Maharanee at once returned to England with the family. The Maharajah, furious at what he regarded as an insult, refused to accept for himself any longer the pension from the British Government, and withdrew to the Continent of Europe.

The Maharanee did not live very long after this, dying in the following year, and leaving six children, three sons and three daughters, to be provided for by the British Government. The four younger children have been placed under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Oliphant, at Brighton, while the eldest son, Prince Victor, godson of the Queen, has entered Her Majesty's service, and holds a commission in the Royal Dragoons, being allowed, we understand, £2,000 a year by the India Office. Prince Frederick, godson of the late Emperor of Germany, is an undergraduate at Cambridge, and is now of age.

The future of both these young men involves a serious responsibility on the British nation. Prince Victor, the eldest, has been deprived of his birthright and inheritance by the action of the India Office, in compelling the sale of Elveden at the Maharajah's death, thus destroying his dearest ambition of founding a family in England. To those acquainted with Oriental feeling on this matter, it will be unnecessary

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to enlarge on the intensity of this desire with them.

And now that we have brought to a close this account of the early life and training of the Maharajah Duleep Singh, and of the man to whose care that training was entrusted, may we, at least, hope, that however imperfectly and tediously the story has been told, those of our readers who have followed us so far, will acknowledge the worth and character of the Governor selected for that position, the high motives from which he acted, and which he endeavoured to instil into his ward, and the earnestness and persistence with which he pressed on the Government the consideration of that ward's just rights, even when such pertinacity was damaging his own interests.

An impression seems to prevail among the mass of the British public that Duleep Singh is some pretender, with a grievance more or less imaginary against the Government, and that the "guardian" he so objurgates and denounces for unjust dealings, is none other than Sir John Login himself! It is right that we should at once rectify this latter error.

Duleep Singh has never, even in his most unguarded statements, said a word against the memory or character of his most faithful friend, and personal guardian, whose justice and uprightness he has always professed to admire, and whose loving care and solicitude for him he has ever acknowledged. The "guardian"

against whom he constantly inveighs is the *British Government*, who took upon itself that office by the Treaty of Bhyrowal, and who is so described by Lord Hardinge, the author of that Treaty.*

Another point we have endeavoured to bring out in these pages is the fact, that up to the time when, on Duleep Singh attaining his majority, Sir John Login relinquished his charge, there was not a more contented, loyal subject of the Queen to be found within the breadth of Her Majesty's dominions. Had Sir John Login's advice, at this time, been followed, the Government would not have got into their present difficulties, and their trusting ward would not have developed into an angry and discontented rebel!

Sir John Login brought up the boy to accept with entire satisfaction, when of age, the provisions of the Treaty of Lahore, as understood by those who signed it for him,† and by Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Frederick Currie, and John Lawrence, in whom the Sikhs had full confidence. Login advised that a *liberal* interpretation be given to the Treaty, instead of naming the very lowest sum allowed by the letter of that document,

* See Appendix.

† The Fakeer Zehooroodeen, one of the gentlemen in attendance on the Maharajah at Futtehghur, who was the son of Fakeer Nooroodeen, one of the Ministers who signed the Treaty, was well aware of the meaning attached to the terms by his father and others.

It was often a remark when the death of any pensioner on the Fund was announced, that "so much more was now the Maharajah's."

Login knew the names of all those who were originally put on the Pension Fund, as all pensions were made through him at Lahore.

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and instead of interpreting it in a sense in which neither the Maharajah, nor his Ministers who signed it for him, understood it at the time. He agreed that the £25,000 a year, should be considered a fair income for the Prince, but that the lapses under the Four-to-Five Lakh Fund should be vested under trustees, as a provision for his family and descendants (the income, of course, to be enjoyed by the Maharajah for his life).

With this arrangement the Maharajah would *then* have been perfectly satisfied, and the matter closed once for all. At that time the private estates inherited by him from Runjeet Singh, as a Sikh Sirdar, had never been thought of, nor was any claim to the personal property and jewels, as distinct from State property, put forward.* The long delay, and niggling spirit of the treatment he met with, has given time for all this to crop up, with what sad results we all know.

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*With reference to a claim lately advanced by the Maharajah, it may be observed that, in answer to a question put by Sir John Login in 1861, the following reply was given, by a very high authority:—"I do not know what the law in the native kingdoms of India may be, or what may have been established as the basis of international law in that country, but in this country there is no doubt that all property, either real or personal, inherited by the Sovereign, from his or her predecessor, becomes the property of the Crown, and not of the individual. If the same law ruled in the Treaty with the Maharajah, all the private property would be absorbed in that of the State, except what Duleep Singh may have purchased himself, which could be but little.

"In the particular instance of the Koh-i-noor, although it is now the personal property of the Queen, having been acquired during her lifetime, . . . . as soon as it came into the hands of her successor, it would become the property of the Crown, and could not be alienated.

"I do not think that it would be of any advantage to the Maharajah to advance

Sir John, on finding that the Government were determined to deal with the Maharajah *alone*, without any aid or counsel from a friend, and were tempting him to give a discharge in full, by offering him large sums of ready money to deal with as he liked (while they allowed no inquiry into the use to which they applied the Pension Fund, though debarred by treaty from employing it for any other purpose), would take no further prominent part in the matter, but contented himself with merely giving advice to the Maharajah from time to time on specified points. Chapter XIV.

It was a great risk to which to expose a young lad, ignorant of English life, to place a large income at his disposal, and large sums of ready money as well, and, while discouraging him from consulting the counsellor he had chosen, allowing him none other in his place! Hitherto no Indian prince had ever been left so entirely to himself; there was always an officer appointed as agent to the Governor-General, to help and advise him, and why should they be so resolved on the dangerous experiment of throwing a youth, for whose moral welfare they were *doubly* responsible (in that he was the first Indian prince to embrace the religion of the Paramount Power), alone and unaided into

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claims that could be refuted, because it would necessarily lessen the *prestige* of the rest."

From this it is evident that, as the Koh-i-noor descended from Runjeet Singh, through Khurruck Singh, and Shere Singh, to the Maharajah, it must have been considered State property, and dealt with as such by the Treaty of Lahore.

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the temptations of a London life, at an age when no English lad would be considered fit to stand alone?

Furthermore, it would almost seem as if they had presumed on his profession of Christianity, by imposing upon him a continued system of petty slights and injustice, which they would not have dreamt of offering to a Hindoo or Mahomedan prince, in the same position.

Far be it from us, to palliate or excuse Duleep Singh's later utterances! We can but deplore that a dawn of such promise, has been clouded by the darkness of bitter and revengeful passions. His present conduct and language is at such variance with his chivalrous character, that his friends can only hope that the aberration which betrays him into such licence is only temporary, and that, ere long, his veneration for the Queen, at present overshadowed by his resentment against her Ministers, will yet manifest itself with all its former intensity!

# CHAPTER XV.

## DULEEP SINGH AND THE GOVERNMENT.

### 1856—1886.



WITH the death of Sir John Login all business communications with the Maharajah ceased, and, although a lively interest was taken in his proceedings, by the family which he had hitherto held in such close friendship, it will easily be understood, now that the head and guiding hand had gone from among them, that a gradual drifting apart set in, and much went on in the life of the Maharajah that was unknown to his former friends.

Under these circumstances, before proceeding further, it is thought advisable to ask those whose interest may have been aroused by what has been placed before them, to refer to the introductory chapter of this volume, in which the primary objects of the undertaking have been set forth.

It will then be sufficient to give a short summary of the situation of the Maharajah with regard to the Government, and such facts as can be produced from

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official and other sources will be brought to show how brooding over fancied wrongs, and constant beating against the rocks of cold officialdom, has gone far towards turning a loyal and loving subject of Her Majesty, the first convert to Christianity among the princes of India, into a bitter and discontented foe! His early training led him to trust his guardian (the British Government) implicity. How has that guardian treated him?

To answer this query, let us turn to the evidence of Sir John Login, in his private letter to Sir Charles Wood, and the memorandum subsequently drawn up by him on the Maharajah's position with the Government:—

*July*, 1859.

DEAR SIR CHARLES WOOD,

I hope that you will kindly excuse the liberty I take, in intruding upon your attention while it must be so fully occupied with matters of perhaps more importance; but as I am very apprehensive that if I delay to do so an opportunity may be lost of doing an act of justice in a graceful way, and in a manner which may tend to advance the public interests in India very materially, I venture to bring it to your notice.

I have already mentioned to you that the subject of the Maharajah Duleep Singh's settlements on coming of age has been under the consideration of Government since December, 1856, when he became entitled (at eighteen), by the laws of India, to the management of his own affairs, but that various circumstances have prevented a final decision upon the subject up to the present time. He has, during the last three years, been unsettled

and anxious regarding it, and to provide against some of the inconveniences likely to arise from the delay, he has been induced to insure his life at an annual premium of £1,000. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

With every desire, however, to make allowances for the delay, it is very difficult for a young man at his age to be patient under it, especially when he has already had to pay £3,000 as insurance premium, which would not have been necessary had his settlement been determined at the proper time; and I am therefore apprehensive that if all arrangements are not satisfactorily completed before he attains his majority (on the 4th September, little more than a month hence), he may naturally be very greatly disappointed, and be much less disposed to be satisfied with any settlement which may be made by Government than he now is.

When all the circumstances of the Maharajah's removal from the throne of the Punjab and the annexation of his country are duly considered, I think that it must be admitted to be at least very satisfactory to us, that the person who, in the opinion of other civilized nations, has suffered most from the change should himself, on attaining an age at which he can correctly judge of the rectitude of our proceedings towards him, be ready to express his approbation; and I may be excused, therefore, if I am a little anxious, for the sake of our own high character among other nations, and among the people of India, that nothing should occur to deprive us of this satisfaction.

It has been said, and, perhaps, truly, that the Maharajah has been fortunate in having been removed from his high position into private life at his early age, and also that he could never have continued to hold it, even with the assistance to which he was entitled from us, among so turbulent a people. But even admitting the latter to be the case—although I greatly doubt it—have we not, as a Government, been equally fortunate in having to act with a young man who, during the last ten years, has given us the most convincing proofs of his loyalty, fidelity, and good-

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will, rather than with one who might have been otherwise disposed towards us, and have set a different example to his former subjects?

I have no doubt that you will take these circumstances into consideration in determining the provision to be made for himself and his family, and that notwithstanding the *temporary* difficulties in which the general finances of India are now involved, you will kindly bear in mind that, in so far as respects the Punjab, the result of our Government has been eminently successful, and has far exceeded the anticipations which were formed when, in 1849, the Maharajah was deprived of his throne, and required, through the ministers that we had placed around him, to accept such terms as we imposed upon him.

I confess that I am less anxious for the Maharajah's personal interest in the decision of the question, than for the honour and credit of the British Government, and for the character which impartial history may yet attach to the transaction.

While admitting the necessity of the measure, it was considered at the time by almost all who took part in it to be a very hard proceeding towards the Maharajah, and one which can in no way be so satisfactorily justified, as by his own approval of it, after his judgment has been matured by ten years' experience, and he has been able to appreciate the motives from which we acted.

Trusting you will excuse the freedom with which I have addressed you.

I remain, &c.,
J. S. Login.

MEMORANDUM BY SIR JOHN LOGIN.

*Written in* 1862.

*Dec. 9th*, 1856. The Maharajah wrote to the Court of Directors requesting that his settlement, on coming of age, might be taken into consideration.

*Feb.* 19*th*, 1857. He was informed, in reply, that a reference would be made to India on the subject. They also released him from the restrictions imposed on him by treaty as to residence.

In consequence of the mutiny of the Bengal Army, and other causes, no further communication was made in this matter until—

*May* 20*th*, 1859,—When His Highness was informed by Lord Stanley that Her Majesty's Government proposed to fix his allowance at an annual rate of £25,000, to commence on the attainment of his majority, according to the laws of England.

*June* 3*rd*, 1859. The Maharajah acknowledged the liberality of this allowance, but requested to be informed whether it was to be considered a mere annuity for his life, or to be continued in whole or in part to his heirs and descendants.

*Oct.* 24*th*, 1859. He was informed by Sir Charles Wood that, of the yearly allowance of £25,000, the sum of £15,000 was to be considered as a personal allowance, terminable with His Highness's life, and the remaining £10,000 to be derived from investment (in the name of trustees) of such an amount of India stock as will yield that amount of yearly interest—such Capital Stock (subject to provisions for his widow, not exceeding £3,000 per annum), to be at His Highness's disposal to bequeath to the legitimate heirs of his body according to the laws of England.

In the event of his leaving no such heirs, the stock to revert to the Government, subject to such settlement as His Highness may have made upon his wife. This arrangement to be in satisfaction of all claims for himself, or his heirs, on the British Government.

*Nov.* 1*st*, 1859. The Maharajah expressed his satisfaction at the manner in which it is proposed to make provision for his family—but believing that no inconsiderable portion of the sum which Her Majesty's Government proposed to place in trust

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for himself and family had already accumulated by lapses and short payments, during his minority, from the State pension assigned under treaty, he requested that the condition requiring the reversion of the trust fund to Government on failure of direct heirs should be so far modified as to admit of his appropriating such portion of it as can be shown to have accrued up to the period of his decease by accumulations, by lapses, and otherwise, from the State pensions above alluded to, for the promotion of Christian education in the Punjab, or other territories over which he had held sovereignty, placing the same under such additional trustees as may be approved by Her Majesty's Government. He also pointed out that no allusion had been made to his claim for compensation for loss of property during the Mutiny.

No reply having been received to this communication for upwards of two months, the question having, it is believed, been referred to a Special Committee of the Indian Council, and objections, it is said, having been raised to the Maharajah's request, on the grounds of interference with religious neutrality, the Maharajah called upon Sir Charles Wood at the India Office, and at a private interview stated his claims more fully.

Having been requested by Sir Charles Wood to give in a written document, to be laid before the Council, the following was at once prepared in his presence, and signed by the Maharajah:—

The Maharajah asks for £25,000 a year for life, and also the sum of £200,000 to be settled on him for life, and on his heirs after him; and in the event of no heirs, he is at liberty to devise it for any public purpose in India.

This to be in full of all demands.

DULEEP SINGH.

*Jan. 20th*, 1860.

The question having been thus modified by the document which the Maharajah had, without sufficient consideration of his position under the Treaty, given in, and which Sir Charles Wood had also unfortunately overlooked, the Committee of Council

had little difficulty in pointing out that the Maharajah had personally no right to any further portion of the State pension than that which had been, or might be, assigned to him by the British Government; and a communication was made to His Highness to this effect. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

It was admitted, however, in Sir Charles Wood's letter—that the whole of the State pension fixed by the Government for the Maharajah, his relatives, and servants of the State, had not been expended in each year for the above purpose—that he had no means of ascertaining the whole amount of accumulations arising from this source, but that it may probably be between £150,000 and £200,000—"that Her Majesty's Government have no intention of allowing any part of this amount to be applied to any purposes other than that for which it was assigned."

Sir Charles Wood further stated, that it will rest with the Government of India to determine, how the accumulations ought to be disposed of for the benefit of all parties interested—that he was very decidedly of opinion that the advantage accorded to His Highness, by the capitalizing of a sum yielding £10,000 a year, was greatly in excess of what he could derive from any apportionment of the present accumulation.

If, however, His Highness should be of a different opinion, Sir Charles Wood was ready to call on the Government of India to report the exact amount of the accumulation, and the proportion which could be assigned to His Highness with due regard to the claims and circumstances of the other parties interested; such amount, in that case, to be at His Highness's absolute disposal, leaving him to make his own arrangements for a provision for his wife and children.

*April 3rd*, 1860. The Maharajah, in reply to the above letter, explained the circumstances under which he had asked permission to appropriate the trust fund to Christian education in the event of the failure of heirs; expressed his regret at the inadvertence of which he had been guilty in respect to the

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document which he had given in, at his private interview with Sir Charles Wood, and with reference to Sir Charles Wood's admission as to the state of the account, and that he had no means of ascertaining the actual amount of accumulations from the State pension, repeated a request that he had made in his letter of June 3rd, 1859, to be furnished with a full statement of accounts before he could enter upon any compromise of his claims.

*April 20th*, 1860. Sir Charles Wood explained a portion of his letter of 23rd March, which His Highness had apparently misunderstood, and stated, that he gathered from His Highness's letter of the 3rd April that His Highness wished to defer his decision between the two alternatives there referred to, until he shall have learned what the sum to be placed at his disposal may be.

*April 30th*, 1860. His Highness in reply, repeated his wish to decline any compromise or decision, until he had been favoured with the required statement, when he would be prepared to enter into such arrangements as, under the circumstances of his position, may appear expedient.

A further delay of nearly fifteen months having occurred in procuring the required information from India, on—

*July 27th*, 1861,—His Highness was at length furnished with a copy of the statement, accompanied by a letter from Sir Charles Wood, in which he pointed out that the unappropriated balance of the Lahore State Pension Fund amounted to about £76,500 on the 4th of September, 1859.

INDIA OFFICE, *July 27th*, 1861.

MAHARAJAH,

It appears from the statement, which is made up to the 4th September, 1859 (a copy of which is appended to this letter), when your Highness attained

your majority, that the total amount appropriated, in accordance with the terms of 1849, falls short of the aggregate sum payable to the Lahore family—viz., four lakhs of rupees per annum—by 764,263 rupees, or about £76,500.

The amount now annually paid to the family is about four and a half lakhs of rupees.

I trust that your Highness will now be able to return without further delay a definite answer to the proposal contained in my letters of 24th October, 1859, and 23rd March, 1860. With reference to these letters, I have only to add that if your Highness should elect to receive the unappropriated balance—say £76,500—I am willing, in accordance with the recommendation of the Government of India, to place the entire amount at the disposal of your Highness, instead of capitalizing a part of your present allowances (that is, £10,000 per annum), for the purposes and in the manner stated in the above-cited letters.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CHARLES WOOD.

Some of the documents having been omitted to be sent on from the India Office, they were furnished on application.

On referring to the statements forwarded to His Highness, so manifest a discrepancy was at once apparent in the amount to be credited, and in other parts of the account, that, without going into details, it was necessary to ask for explanations, which His Highness accordingly did, in a letter addressed to Sir Charles Wood on the subject.

*To* SIR CHARLES WOOD.

*August*, 1861.

SIR,

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 10th instant, with it enclosures, showing the manner in which the balance of £76,500, referred to in your letter of the 27th ult., has been obtained.

Before entering into the question of the amount to be credited by the Government of India, under Art. 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, of date March 29th, 1849, or into details of disbursements on account of myself, my relatives, and dependants, which had been furnished to me, it is necessary that I should point out that even at the rate assumed by the Government in the abstract which I have now received

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(viz., four lakhs of rupees per annum), the amount to be credited to the Lahore Pension Fund between 29th March, 1849, and the 4th September, 1859, *i.e.*, for 10 years 5 months and 6 days, would be Company's Rs. 4,173,333. 7. 5., exclusive of interest, and not Company's Rs. 4,071,111. 1. 9, as exhibited in the statement.

I would also bring to your notice, that I have not yet been furnished with any statement in detail of the payments made from the General Treasury, amounting, as shown in the abstract, to Company's Rs. 186,000, nor of advances on account of my personal stipend from March, 1855, to the 4th September, 1859, stated to amount to Company's Rs. 475,333, which are necessary to elucidate the account.

With respect to the remarks in the second paragraph of your letter of the 27th ult., that the amount now annually paid is about four lakhs of rupees, I can find nothing in the statements or letters to exhibit this, and I shall therefore be obliged by further information on the subject.

I have &c., &c.,

DULEEP SINGH.

It had always been the wish and intention of the Maharajah and those who advised him, after being furnished with a statement of the accounts, to place the matter in the hands of impartial persons best qualified to judge of the circumstances of the case, and to abide by their decision, and accordingly, when several months elapsed without any reply to the inquiry for explanation, it was urged upon Sir Charles Wood to refer the question to Sir John Lawrence for settlement, as the person, above all others, best qualified to judge of all the circumstances attending the negotiation of the Treaty, and, in fact, the officer through whose influence and exertions the Treaty had been obtained. After some delay Sir John Lawrence undertook to act, if assisted by Sir Frederick Currie; and Sir Charles Wood, having made this arrangement, requested the Maharajah to send in a "statement of his wishes and objections" to those two gentlemen, to be submitted by some person duly authorized by him to place the case before them.

His Highness declined sending in any statement, but requested

Sir John Login to wait upon Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie at the time appointed, to offer any explanations which these gentlemen might require, and expressed his readiness to be perfectly satisfied with any decision which Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie might arrive at on the question, placing his case entirely and unreservedly in their hands. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

These gentlemen having accordingly considered the whole question, prepared a report (as a Sub-Committee of Council) for submission to the Secretary of State, but in consequence, it is believed, of some difference of opinion in the Council on the subject, no steps appear to have been taken by Sir Charles Wood to consider their report for nearly three months—when His Highness, becoming impatient at the delay, and being anxious that his mother (then residing with him) should return to India, and that he should accompany her for a short time, applied for, and obtained, permission from Sir Charles Wood for the purpose.

Within a short time, however, after His Highness's wish was intimated to Sir Charles Wood, and his consent obtained, the following letter was sent to His Highness from the India Office, under date *July 26th*, 1862:—

MAHARAJAH,

With reference to our first correspondence, I have now the honour to inform your Highness that since the date of my last letter, I have taken into my deliberate consideration in Council, the several accounts which have been laid before me, representing the sums which have been hitherto appropriated to the benefit of your Highness, your relatives, and the servants of the Lahore State, in accordance with the terms of 1849, and I have the satisfaction of adding, that Her Majesty's Government are now prepared to make an arrangement for the future maintenance of yourself and your immediate family, which, it is confidently hoped, will be acceptable to your Highness.

It is proposed that, without reference to your present life pension of £25,000 per annum, which will be maintained on its present footing, the sum of £105,000 (one hundred and five thousand pounds) shall be invested in the purchase of an estate in this country, to be held by trustees for your Highness's benefit, the rent thereof to be enjoyed by you in addition to your present stipend.

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Should your Highness marry, any provision for your widow will be settled upon this estate.

In the event of your leaving lawful issue, you will be empowered to devise the estate to such issue in any proportion that you may think fit, or should you die intestate, the estate will, in such case, pass by inheritance to your children.

Should you have no issue, you would be empowered to devise the estate to such person or persons as you might desire to bestow it upon.

Her Majesty's Government do not, however, mean to limit to the proceeds of the estate, the amount of provision to be made after your death for such legitimate offspring as you may leave behind. They are willing to enable you to devise to such offspring, in such proportions as you may think fit, an amount of four per cent. India Capital Stock as will yield an income of £7,000 per annum; and should your Highness die intestate, the Capital Stock above mentioned will pass by inheritance to your legitimate children, according to the law of this country.

Your Highness will understand, that in making this arrangement for the future provision of yourself and your family—which is irrespective of any arrangement that has been and may hereafter be made, for other objects embraced in the terms of the Treaty of Lahore—Her Majesty's Government intend it to be final, and in satisfaction of all personal claims which you may have upon the British Government, and an acknowledgment to this effect will be required from your Highness, on your acceptance of the present proposal.

Hoping that your Highness will consider this as a satisfactory solution of the question so long pending between you and the British Government, and that you will accept it with the kindly feeling and in the liberal spirit in which it is offered.

I have the honour, &c.,

CHARLES WOOD.

*Reply from the* MAHARAJAH, *Oct. 11th*, 1862.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 26th July, informing me of the arrangements which Her Majesty's Government are now prepared to make for my future maintenance, and that of my immediate family, and which you confidently hope will be acceptable to me.

In reply, I desire to express my sincere thanks for the careful and deliberate consideration which you have given in council to my personal right as a pensioner under the Treaty of Lahore, and for the kindly feeling which is

manifested in the arrangements which are proposed for my benefit and that of my immediate family. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

While I regret that the whole question of my claims has not been settled, as I had hoped would have been done when it was referred to Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie, I readily accept these arrangements under the conditions which you specify, and I am prepared to sign any legal document which may be necessary to release the Government from any further pecuniary claims on my own part, or that of my immediate family, arising out of the Treaty.

But I hope you will agree with me, that in my position under the Treaty, and as head of my family, it is still incumbent upon me to see that fit and proper arrangements should be made for placing the control of the remainder of the State pension under trust, in such manner as may appear most advisable; and I shall be happy to enter into any further arrangements for that purpose that may be requisite.

Your letter does not allude to my claims for compensation for loss of property at Futtehghur during the Mutiny, nor to the appropriation of intestate estates of deceased relatives and members of my family; but these matters I leave confidently in your hands, believing that they will be settled in the same friendly spirit in which the arrangements now proposed have been made.

I have, &c.,

DULEEP SINGH.

To the above letter no reply has yet (December 6th, 1862) been received; but it is believed that the Government intend to act upon it by making over the money to be assigned under trust for the Maharajah's own family as proposed.

Now, from the letter to Sir Charles Wood, and from the contentions brought forward in the above memorandum, it will be seen that Sir John Login himself did not consider that the terms of the Treaty of Lahore were being carried out in the spirit which the ward of the British Government was warranted to expect.

How easily might the Government at this period

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have finally settled matters with the Maharajah in a manner satisfactory to him and creditable to themselves!

Between 1862 and 1882 many transactions took place between the Maharajah and Government, relative to the purchase of estates and advances of money for various purposes, a detailed statement of which is given further on, in quotations from the book published by the Maharajah in 1884.

No public attention was drawn to the condition of affairs until August, 1882, when Duleep Singh, no doubt observing the action of the Government in South Africa with regard to Cetewayo, commenced the following correspondence in the *Times*:—

## THE CLAIMS OF AN INDIAN PRINCE.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

*Aug.* 31*st*, 1882.

Sir,

As the era of doing justice and restoration appears to have dawned, judging from the recent truly liberal and noble act of the present Liberal Government, headed now by the great Gladstone the Just, I am encouraged to lay before the British nation, through the medium of *The Times*, the injustice which I have suffered, in the hope that, although generosity may not be lavished upon me to the same extent as has been bestowed upon King Cetewayo, yet that some magnanimity might be shown towards me by this great Christian Empire.

When I succeeded to the throne of the Punjab I was only an infant, and the Khâlsa soldiery, becoming more and more mutinous and overbearing during both my uncle's and my mother's Regencies, at last, unprovoked, crossed the Sutlej and attacked the friendly British Power, and was completely defeated and entirely routed by the English army.

Had, at that time, my dominions been annexed to the British territories, I would have now not a word to say, for I was, at that time, an independent chief at the head of an independent people, and any penalty which might have been then inflicted would have been perfectly just; but that kind, true English gentleman, the late Lord Hardinge, in consideration of the friendship which had existed between the British Empire and the "Lion of the Punjab," replaced me on my throne, and the diamond Koh-i-noor on my arm, at one of the Durbars. The Council of Regency, which was then created to govern the country during my minority, finding that it was not in their power to rule the Punjab unaided, applied for assistance to the representative of the British Government, who, after stipulating for absolute power to control every Government department, entered into the Bhyrowal Treaty with me, by which it was guaranteed that I should be protected on my throne until I attained the age of sixteen years, the British also furnishing troops both for the above object and preservation of peace in the country, in consideration of a certain sum to be paid to them annually by my Durbar for the maintenance of that force.

Thus the British nation, with open eyes, assumed my guardianship, the nature of which is clearly defined in a proclamation subsequently issued by Lord Hardinge's orders, on the 20th August, 1847, which declares that the tender age of the Maharajah Duleep Singh causes him to feel the interest of a father in the education and guardianship of the young Prince.—(*Vide* "*Punjab Papers*" at the British Museum).

Two English officers, carrying letters bearing my signature,

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were despatched by the British Resident, in conjunction with my Durbar, to take possession of the fortress of Mooltan and the surrounding district in my name; but my servant Moolraj, refusing to acknowledge my authority, caused them to be put to death; whereupon, both the late Sir F. Currie and the brave Sir Herbert Edwardes most urgently requested the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces at Simla, as there were not sufficient English soldiers at Lahore at the time, to send some European troops without delay, in order to crush this rebellion in the bud, as they affirmed that the consequences could not be calculated which might follow, if it were allowed to spread; but the late Lord Gough, with the concurrence of the late Marquis of Dalhousie, refused to comply with their wishes, alleging the unhealthiness of the season as his reason for doing so.

My case at that time was exactly similar to what the Khedive's is at this moment; Arabi being, in his present position to his master, what Moolraj was to me—viz., a rebel.

At last, very tardily, the British Government sent troops (as has been done in Egypt) to quell the rebellion, which had by that time vastly increased in the Punjab, and who entered my territories, headed by a proclamation, issued by Lord Dalhousie's orders, to the following effect:—

Inclosure 8 in No. 42.—To the subjects, servants, and dependants of the Lahore State, and residents of all classes and castes, whither Sikhs, Mussulmans, or others, within the territories of Maharajah Duleep Singh. . . . . Whereas certain evil-disposed persons and traitors have excited rebellion and insurrection, and have seduced portions of the population of the Punjab from their allegiance, and have raised an armed opposition to the British authority; and whereas the condign punishment of the insurgents is necessary . . . . therefore the British army, under the command of the Right Hon. the Commander-in-Chief, has entered the Punjab districts. The army will not return to its cantonments until full punishment of all insurgents has been effected, all opposition to the constituted authority put down, and obedience and order have been re-established.

Thus it is clear from the above that the British Commander-in-

Chief did not enter my dominions as a conqueror, nor the army to stay there, and, therefore, it is not correct to assert, as some do, that the Punjab was a military conquest. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

And whereas it is not the desire of the British Government that those who are innocent of the above offences, who have taken no part, secretly or openly, in the disturbances, and who have remained faithful in their obedience to the Government of Maharajah Duleep Singh . . . . should suffer with the guilty.

But after order was restored, and finding only a helpless child to deal with, the temptation being too strong, Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab, and instead of carrying out the solemn compact entered into by the British Government at Bhyrowal, sold almost all my personal as well as all my private property, consisting of jewels, gold and silver plate, even some of my wearing apparel and household furniture, and distributed the proceeds, amounting (I was told) to £250,000, as prize money among those very troops who had come to put down rebellion against my authority.

Thus I, the innocent, who never lifted up even my little finger against the British Government, was made to suffer in the same manner with my own subjects who would not acknowledge my authority, in spite of the declaration of the above-quoted proclamation, that it is not the desire of the British Government that the innocent should suffer with the guilty.

Lord Dalhousie, in writing to the Secret Committee of the late Court of Directors, in order to justify his unjust act, among other arguments employs the following. He says:—

It has been objected that the present dynasty in the Punjab cannot with justice be subverted, since the Maharajah Duleep Singh, being yet a minor, can hardly be held responsible for the acts of the nation. With deference to those by whom these views have been entertained, I must dissent entirely from the soundness of this doctrine. It is, I venture to think, altogether untenable as a principle; it has been disregarded heretofore in practice, and disregarded in the case of the Maharajah Duleep Singh. When in 1845 the Khâlsa army invaded

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our territories, the Maharajah was not held to be free from responsibility, nor was he exempted from the consequences of the acts of the people. On the contrary, the Government of India confiscated to itself the richest provinces of the Maharajah's kingdom, and was applauded for the moderation which had exacted no more. If the Maharajah was not exempted from responsibility on the plea of his tender years at the age of eight, he cannot on that plea be entitled to exemption from a like responsibility now that he is three years older.

But in thus arguing, his Lordship became blind to the fact that in 1845, when the Khâlsa army invaded the British territories, I was an independent chief, but after the ratification of the Bhyrowal Treaty I was made the ward of the British nation; and how could I, under these circumstances, be held responsible for the neglect of my guardians in not crushing Moolraj's rebellion at once, the necessity of doing which was clearly and repeatedly pointed out by the British Resident at Lahore?

Again, his Lordship says, "The British Government has rigidly observed the obligations which the Treaty imposed on them, and fully acted up to the spirit and letter of its contract." No doubt all this was or may have been true, except so far that neither peace was preserved in the country nor I protected on my throne till I attained the age of sixteen years—two very important stipulations of that Treaty.

He further alleges, "In return for the aid of the British troops they (my Durbar) bound themselves to pay to us a subsidy of twenty-two lakhs (£220,000) per annum . . . . from the day when that Treaty was signed to the present hour, not one rupee has ever been paid."

Now, the above statement is not correct, because of the following despatch which exists:—"Enclosure No. 5, in No. 23," the Acting Resident at Lahore affirms, "The Durbar has paid into this treasury gold to the value of Rs. 13,56,637 0. 6." (£135,837 14s. 1d., taking the value of a rupee at 2s.).

Likewise Lord Dalhousie alludes to Sirdar Chutter Singh's conduct. Enclosure 19 in No. 36 will show those who care to

look for it, the reprimand which Captain Abbott then received from the Resident for his treatment of that chief, who, after that, with his sons, without doubt believed that the Bhyrowal Treaty was not going to be carried out; and, judging from the events which followed, were they right in their views, or were they not?



(1) Thus I have been most unjustly deprived of my kingdom, yielding, as shown by Lord Dalhousie's own computation in (I think) 1850, a surplus revenue of some £500,000, and no doubt now vastly exceeds that sum.

(2) I have also been prevented, unjustly, from receiving the rentals of my private estates (*vide* Prinsep's "*History of the Sikhs*," compiled for the Government of India) in the Punjab, amounting to some £130,000 per annum, since 1849, although my private property is not confiscated by the terms of the annexation which I was compelled to sign by my guardians when I was a minor, and therefore, I presume, it is an illegal document, and I am still the lawful Sovereign of the Punjab; but this is of no moment, for I am quite content to be the subject of my most gracious Sovereign, no matter how it was brought about, for her graciousness towards me has been boundless.

(3) All my personal property has also been taken from me, excepting £20,000 worth, which I was informed by the late Sir John Login was permitted to be taken with me to Futtehghur when I was exiled; and the rest, amounting to some £250,000, disposed of as stated before. What is still more unjust in my case is, that most of my servants who remained faithful to me, were permitted to retain all their personal and private property, and to enjoy the rentals of their landed estates (or *jagheers*), given to them by me and my predecessors, whereas I, their master, who did not even lift up my little finger against the British nation, was not considered worthy to be treated on the same footing of equality with them, because, I suppose, my sin being that I happened to be the ward of a Christian Power.

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The enormous British liberality permits a life stipend of £25,000 per annum, which is reduced by certain charges (known to the proper authorities) to some £13,000, to be paid to me from the revenues of India.

Lately, an Act of Parliament has been passed, by which, some months hence, the munificent sum of £2,000 will be added to my above stated available income, but on the absolute condition that my estates must be sold at my death, thus causing my dearly-loved English home to be broken up, and compelling my descendants to seek some other asylum.

A very meagre provision, considering of what, and how, I have been deprived, has also been made for my successors.

If one righteous man was found in the two most wicked cities of the world, I pray God that at least one honourable, just, and noble Englishman may be forthcoming out of this Christian land of liberty and justice to advocate my cause in Parliament; otherwise, what chance have I of obtaining justice, considering that my despoiler, guardian, judge, advocate, and jury, is the British nation itself?

Generous and Christian Englishmen, accord me a just and liberal treatment, for the sake of the fair name of your nation, of which I have now the honour to be a naturalized member, for it is more blessed to give than to take.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your most obliged servant,

DULEEP SINGH.

Elveden Hall, Thetford, Suffolk,
*Aug.* 28*th*, 1882.

It will be acknowledged that there is nothing in the tone or spirit of the above letter to justify the contemptuous reply which it received, contained in the

following leading article printed in *The Times* of August 31st, 1882, and which bears conclusive evidence of official inspiration. Considering the rank then held by the Maharajah in England, the consideration due to him on account of the position from which we had deposed him, and his own known loyalty and attachment to the person of the Sovereign, surely a more dignified and less irritating response might have been afforded him! To try and turn a man into ridicule is no answer to a specific charge, and the real point at issue is, in this article, merely fenced with.

THE "TIMES"—*Aug.* 31*st*, 1882.

We print elsewhere a somewhat singular letter from the Maharajah Duleep Singh. Encouraged, as it would seem, by the restoration of Cetewayo, he puts forward an impassioned plea for the consideration of his own claims. On a first glance, his letter reads as if he demanded nothing less than to be replaced on the throne of the Punjab. He professes to establish his right to that position and then to waive it, magnanimously avowing that he is quite content to be the subject of his most gracious Sovereign, whose graciousness towards him had been boundless. His real object, however, is far less ambitious. It is to prefer a claim for a more generous treatment of his private affairs at the hands of the Indian Government. In lieu of the sovereignty of the Punjab, with its unbounded power and unlimited resources, "the enormous British liberality," he complains, permits him only a life stipend of £25,000 per annum, which is reduced by certain charges to some £13,000. All that he has hitherto succeeded in obtaining from the Indian

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Government is an arrangement, lately sanctioned by Act of Parliament, whereby he will receive an addition of £2,000 to his annual income on condition that his estates are sold at his death in order to liquidate his liabilities, and provide for his widow and children. It is really against this arrangement that the Maharajah appeals. His argument concerning his *de jure* sovereignty of the Punjab is manifestly only intended to support his pecuniary claims. If these were settled to his satisfaction, he would doubtless be content, and more than content, to die, as he has lived, an English country gentleman, with estates swarming with game, and with an income sufficient for his needs. This is a sort of appeal to its justice and generosity with which the English public is not unfamiliar. Duleep Singh is not the first dispossessed Eastern Prince who has felt himself aggrieved by the dispositions of the Indian Government, nor is this the first occasion on which his own claims have been heard of. For a long time he preferred a claim for the Koh-i-noor, of which he alleged that he had been wrongfully despoiled. Now it is his private estates in India which he declares have been confiscated without adequate compensation. No one, of course, would wish that a prince in the Maharajah's position should be ungenerously treated. He is, as it were, a ward of the English nation, and even his extravagances might be leniently regarded. But as the claim, now publicly preferred by the Maharajah, has been disallowed after full consideration by successive Governments both in India and this country, it may not be amiss to show that his case is by no means so strong as he still affects to consider it.

The events of two Sikh wars, and their sequel, have probably faded out of the memory of most of our readers. They are, however, accurately stated, so far as the main facts are concerned, in the Maharajah's letter. It is not so much with those facts themselves that we are now concerned as with the Maharajah's inferences from them, and with certain other facts which he has

not found it convenient to state. It is perfectly true that after the overthrow of the "Khâlsa" power in the sanguinary battle of Sobraon, Lord Hardinge declined to annex the Punjab and replaced the Maharajah on the throne under the Regency of his mother, the Ranee, assisted by a Council of Sirdars. This settlement, however, proved a failure, and was replaced by the arrangement made under the Bhyrowal Treaty, whereby the entire control and guidance of affairs was vested in the British Resident, and the presence of British troops was guaranteed until the Maharajah should attain his majority. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

The second Sikh war, which began with the revolt of Moolraj in 1848, soon proved the futility of this arrangement also, and after the surrender of Mooltan and the battle of Gujerat, which finally broke the reviving power of the Khâlsa, Lord Dalhousie, who had succeeded Lord Hardinge as Governor-General, decided that the time had come for the incorporation of the Punjab with the British Dominions in India. Duleep Singh was at this time only eleven years of age; but he had been recognized for more than three years as the Sovereign of the Punjab, and by the advice of his Durbar at Lahore he signed the terms of settlement proposed by the British Commissioner, whereby he renounced "for himself, his heirs, and his successors, all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever." By subsequent clauses of the same instrument "all the property of the State, of whatever description and wheresoever found," was confiscated to the East India Company; the Koh-i-noor was surrendered to the Queen of England; a pension of not less than four, and not exceeding five, lakhs of rupees was secured to the Maharajah, "for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the State;" and the Company undertook to treat the Maharajah with respect and honour, and to allow him to retain the title of "Maharajah Duleep Singh, Bahadoor." Of this instrument, the Maharajah now says that he was compelled to sign it by his guardians when he was a minor, and he argues

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that the political necessity which dictated it was due to the *laches* of the Indian Government, which had failed to fulfil the pledges of the Bhyrowal Treaty, and had allowed the revolt of Moolraj to develop into a Sikh rebellion. In answer to these allegations, it is sufficient to quote the report of the British Commissioner, who presented the terms for signature. "The paper," he says, "was then handed to the Maharajah, who immediately affixed his signature. The alacrity with which he took the papers when offered, was a matter of remark to all, and suggested the idea that possibly he had been instructed by his advisers that any show of hesitation might lead to the substitution of terms less favourable than those which he had been offered." Moreover, the plea that the Maharajah was a minor, and therefore not a free agent, is fatal to his own case; he was two years younger when the Bhyrowal Treaty was signed, and younger still when the settlement of Lord Hardinge replaced him on the throne, and restored to him the sovereignty, which he even now acknowledges might at that time have been rightly forfeited. We need not dwell on this point, however. The Maharajah himself would hardly press it. His claim of sovereignty is merely intended to cover his claim for money. He never was much more than nominal Sovereign of the Punjab, and he probably desires nothing so little at this moment as the restitution of his sovereign rights. The political question has long been closed; it only remains to consider whether the personal and financial question still remains open. The Maharajah complains that he was deprived of his personal and private property—with insignificant exceptions—and of the rentals of his landed estates. There is, however, no mention of private property in the terms of settlement accepted by the Maharajah; and a minute of Lord Dalhousie, recorded in 1855, states explicitly that at the time the Punjab was annexed, the youth had no territories, no lands, no property, to which he could succeed. The pension accorded by the East India Company was plainly intended to support the Maharajah in

becoming state, and to provide for his personal dependants; and the British Government expressly reserved to itself the right of allotting only such portion as it thought fit of the "Four Lakh Fund," as the pension was called, to the Maharajah's personal use. So long ago as 1853, Lord Dalhousie wrote a despatch, intended to remove from the Maharajah's mind all idea that the Four Lakh Fund would ultimately revert to himself, and characterizing such an idea as "entirely erroneous." 

The Indian Government, however, has certainly not dealt ungenerously with the Maharajah. It is true that it has not recognized his claim to certain private estates no record of which exists, still less has it listened to any of his attempts to assail the validity of the instrument whereby his sovereignty was extinguished. For some years after the annexation his personal allowance out of the Four Lakh Fund was fixed at £12,500 a year—a sum which was considered entirely satisfactory by the leading Ministers of the Durbar, which assented and advised the Maharajah to assent to the terms of 1849. But in 1859 this allowance was doubled, and the Maharajah himself more than once acknowledged in subsequent years the liberality of the arrangements made. The allowance of £25,000 a year has been reduced to the £13,000 mentioned by the Maharajah in his letter, not by any act of the Indian Government, but by what, if he were only an English country gentleman, we should be compelled to call extravagance, though, as he is an Eastern prince, it is more generous, perhaps, to describe it as magnificence. He first bought a property in Gloucestershire, but this was sold some years ago, and his present estate at Elveden, in Suffolk, was purchased for £138,000, the money being advanced by the Government, and interest for the loan to the amount of £5,664 per annum being paid by the Maharajah. Some two or three years ago the Home Government of India proposed to release the Maharajah from payment of this annual sum provided that he would consent to the sale of the estate, either at once or at his

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death, for the repayment of the principal of the loans advanced. This proposal, however, was rejected by the Indian Government, which maintained, in very strong and plain language, that the Maharajah had already been treated with exceptional liberality, and that if he wanted more money he should sell his estate. The Indian Government remained inexorable, but the liberality of the Home Government was not yet exhausted. The Maharajah had built a house at Elveden, at a cost of £60,000, and had borrowed £40,000 from a London banking firm for the purpose. For this loan £2,000 interest had to be paid, and the India Office has lately sanctioned the repayment of the capital sum without making any further charge on the Maharajah. It is to this arrangement, and to the Act of Parliament which sanctions it, that the Maharajah refers with some bitterness at the close of his letter. In order to settle his affairs, and to provide for his wife and family, the Act of Parliament requires that his estate at Elveden should be sold after his death. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* An argument which starts from the sovereign claims of the son of the "Lion of the Punjab," ends, somewhat ridiculously, though not without a touch of pathos, with the sorrows of the Squire of Elveden. Duleep Singh began life as a Maharajah of the Punjab, with absolute power and boundless wealth if he had only been old enough to enjoy them, and if the Khâlsa would only have allowed him to do so. He is not even allowed to end it as an English country gentleman leaving an encumbered estate and an embarrassed heir. There is really a certain tragedy about the whole matter. Fate and the British Power have deprived the Maharajah of the sovereignty to which he was born. He has done his best to become an English squire, and if he has lived beyond his income, he may plead abundance of examples in the class to which he has attached himself; yet he is forced to bear the consequences himself, and not to inflict them on his children and descendants, as an English squire would be able to do. The whole case is one which it is very difficult to judge upon any

abstract principles. It is, no doubt, the duty of every man to live within his income, and yet if the Maharajah has failed to acquire a virtue rare indeed among Eastern princes and not too common in the class to which he belongs by adoption, there is no Englishman but would feel ashamed if he or his descendants were thereby to come to want. At the same time it is impossible for the Indian Government, which has claims on its slender resources far more urgent than those of the magnificent squire of Elveden, to guarantee him indefinitely against the consequences of his own improvidence. At any rate, it is safe to warn him against encumbering his personal claims by political pleas which are wholly inadmissible. He is very little likely to excite sympathy for his pecuniary troubles by his bold, but scarcely successful, attempt to show that if he could only come by his own, he is still the lawful Sovereign of the Punjab.

*"The Times," Friday, Sept. 8th,* 1882.

## THE CLAIMS OF THE MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

To the Editor of *"The Times."*

Sir,

As your leading article of Thursday, the 31st ult., commenting on my letter of the 28th, which you were so good as to publish, contains many inaccuracies as to matters of fact, which no one, perhaps, can correct so precisely as myself, I trust you will allow me to do so, and to make a few observations.

(1) You say: "All that he has hitherto succeeded in obtaining from the Indian Government, is an arrangement, lately sanctioned by Act of Parliament, whereby he will receive an addition of £2,000 to his annual income, on condition that his estates are sold at his death, in order to liquidate his liabilities, and provide

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for his widow and children. It is really against this arrangement that the Maharajah appeals."

I do *not* "really appeal" against the above arrangement, but what I do certainly think unjust in it is, that I am not permitted to repay, during my life, the loan which is to be made under it—£16,000 having already been advanced to me—and that I am thus forbidden to preserve, by a personal sacrifice, their English home to my descendants. In April last I sent a cheque for £3,542 14s., representing capital and compound interest at the rate of five per cent. to the India Office, but it was returned to me.

My widow and children, should I leave any, were already provided for, under arrangements which existed before this Act was passed.

(2) With reference to your quotation from the British Commissioner, as to my "alacrity" in signing the terms, I have simply to say that, being then a child, I did not understand what I was signing.

(3) "Moreover" you say, "the plea that the Maharajah was a minor, and, therefore, not a free agent, is fatal to his own case; he was two years younger when the Bhyrowal Treaty was signed, and younger still when the settlement of Lord Hardinge replaced him on the throne, and restored to him the sovereignty which he even now acknowledges, might at that time have been rightly forfeited. We do not dwell on this point, however. The Maharajah himself would hardly press it."

But, whether it is fatal to my case or not, I *do* press it, and maintain that after the ratification of the Bhyrowal Treaty, I was a *ward of the British nation*, and that it was unjust on the part of the guardian to deprive me of my kingdom, in consequence of a failure in the guardianship.

Here are Lord Hardinge's own words: "But, in addition to these considerations of a political nature, the Governor-General is bound to be guided by the obligations which the British Government has contracted when it consented to be the guardian of the

young Prince during his minority" (*vide* p. 49, "*Punjab Papers*," 1847-49). Chapter XV. 1856-86.

(4) "The Maharajah complains," you would say, "that he was deprived of his personal and private property—with insignificant exceptions—and of the rentals of his landed estates. There is, however, no mention of private property in the terms of the settlement accepted by the Maharajah; and a minute of Lord Dalhousie, recorded in 1855, explicitly states that at the time the Punjab was annexed, the youth had no territories, no lands, no property to which he could succeed." My reply is, that at the time of the annexation I had succeeded to territories, lands, and personal property, and was in possession, and these possessions were held in trust, and managed for me, under treaty, by the British Government.

That I had succeeded and was possessed of private estates in land, is an historical fact, and a matter of public records. Moreover, these estates had belonged to my family, one of them having being acquired by marriage, before my father attained to sovereignty. The statement in Lord Dalhousie's minute only amounts to denial of the existence of the sun by a blind man; and there are none so blind as those who will not see.

And now with regard to my alleged extravagance, these are the facts. The life stipend of £25,000 allotted to me, has to bear the following deductions:—(1) £5,664 interest, payable to the Government of India; (2) about £3,000 as premium on policies of insurance on my life, executed in order to add to the meagre provision made for my descendants by the British Government, and as security for the loan from my bankers; (3) £1,000 per annum for two pensions of £500 per annum each to the widows of the superintendent appointed by Lord Dalhousie to take charge of me after the annexation, and of my kind friend, the late controller of my establishment; besides which there is some £300 per annum payable in pensions to old servants in India.

In order to be able to receive his Royal Highness the Prince of

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Wales, and to return the hospitality of men in my own position of life, and because I was advised and considered—not, I think, unreasonably—that the rank granted to me by Her Majesty required it to be done, I expended some £22,000 (not £60,000, as you were informed) in alterations and repairs to the old house on this estate; suitable furniture cost £8,000 more.

At a cost of some £3,000, I have purchased life annuities, to be paid to the before-mentioned widow ladies, in case they should survive me.

About £8,000 more had to be borrowed from my bankers on mortgage, to complete the purchase of this estate, as the money lent me by the Government of India was insufficient by that amount. Thus, my debts amount to something like £44,000, of which £30,000 is covered by policies of insurance, £8,000 by mortgage, and the remainder amply secured by personal assets. Therefore, instead of my estates being heavily encumbered, my heirs, were I to die at this moment, would succeed to a house and furniture which are worth much more than £30,000, without any liability, besides some £70,000, secured by insurance on my life.

I think you are bound to acquit the Squire of Elveden of extravagance.

When the agricultural depression set in, I requested the Home Government to make an allowance that would enable me to maintain my position, and they kindly, after causing all the accounts to be examined, helped me with £10,000, but did not accuse me of extravagance. Subsequently, pending the consideration of my affairs, some £6,000 or £7,000 more was advanced to pay off pressing bills, as during that time I had not completed the arrangements for reducing my establishment. Out of the above loan about £10,000 was invested in live and dead stock on farms in hand, and would be forthcoming, if demanded, at a very short notice.

Thus the extravagance during my residence at Elveden is

reduced to the fabulous sum of some £12,000, and I possess enough personalty, beyond any question, to discharge debts to that amount, and some £6,000 more, should they exist at my death. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

In common justice, therefore, Mr. Editor, I ask you to enable me to contradict, in as prominent a manner as they were brought forward in your most influential journal, the rumours as to my extravagance.

In the first paragraph of your leading article of Thursday, the 31st ult., you say, "that the claim now publicly preferred by the Maharajah has been disallowed after full consideration by successive Governments, both in India and this country." Yes, it is very easy to disallow a claim without hearing the real claimant.

The English law grants the accused the chance of proving himself not guilty; but I am condemned unheard: is this just?

I remain, Sir, your most obliged,

DULEEP SINGH.

Elveden Hall, Thetford, Suffolk,
*Sept. 6th*, 1882.

The Maharajah then, finding no notice taken of his appeal, devoted himself to compiling, with the assistance of his solicitor, a book which was published in June, 1884, "for the information of his friends, and to disabuse their minds of any prejudice which may have arisen from what appeared in print about a year ago."

The following extracts from the above-mentioned

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book will give the situation from the Maharajah's point of view:—

By the Treaty of Bhyrowal, in December, 1846, the British Government became the guardian of the infant Prince, and caused his mother to be removed from his vicinity, on account of the influence she was likely to exert over him, and her well-known character for intrigue.

In 1849 the Treaty of Lahore put an end to the Protectorate, but by it the British Government entered into an engagement with the Maharajah to pay him a pension, and took entire charge of his person, exercising a full control over his movements, expenditure, education, and associates, appointing Dr. Login as superintendent under the direction of the Governor-General.

They also undertook the administration of his pension, fixing the amount to be paid to him, to his relatives and dependants, as it was certainly necessary for some one to act for him in this matter until he came of age.

There was a further complication in the matter.

The Government, as is known, in 1849, took possession of all the property of the Maharajah, both in lands and money. The Treaty gave them all the *State property*, therefore, they became trustees for the Maharajah as to his private property. Disputes have since arisen how much, and which portions of the property are of one kind, and how much, and which portions, are of the other kind—and there is also a difference of opinion about the *duration* of the entire pension under the words of the Treaty—so that there are several points of conflict between the Government and its ward.

The Government claims to be the sole arbiter on these conflicting questions, and hitherto has uniformly decided them in its own favour, never rendering any account of its stewardship. Between private individuals, a Chancery judge would interfere, and would appoint trustees, &c., and investigate the case before deciding it; in the meantime, the funds would be secured, and set aside at interest, for the benefit of the successful party in the litigation.

In this case, however, the Government has remained master of the situation. The Maharajah has been advised that the courts of law are, in all probability, powerless to decide between him and the Government, and the latter keeps possession.

It will be interesting here to insert the views of the Government, as embodied in minutes by Lord Dalhousie in 1856, and by Sir Charles Wood in 1860.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S *Minute.*

When the Maharajah quitted India, the object which the Superintendent had in view, was to obtain for His Highness a grant of land in the Eastern Dhoon, near Deyrali, with the expectation, I presume, that the Maharajah would live at Mussoorie during the hot season, as he had been in the habit of doing; and would occupy himself, and interest himself, in the cultivation and improvement of the estate which was to be granted to him.

The Superintendent appeared to be under the impression that the Maharajah himself very strongly desired the settlement of his future position. It seemed to me very unlikely that a boy of his years would have a strong feeling of any kind on such a subject, and quite certain that he could not as yet know his own mind.

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In correspondence with Dr. Login since the Maharajah has resided in England, I have learned that upon being further questioned upon the subject, His Highness did not seem to desire an estate at all, but preferred a money stipend, and spoke as if he were under the impression that the four lakhs which were mentioned in the paper of terms, and which were granted on the annexation of the Punjab, would all ultimately lapse to him. The view which was taken by His Highness of this subject was entirely erroneous.

The terms granted did not secure to the Maharajah four lakhs, out of which His Highness was to grant pensions to relatives and followers, which, on the death of the recipients, were to revert to the Maharajah. The terms simply set apart four lakhs of rupees at the time of the annexation, as provision for the Maharajah, for the members of his family, and the servants of the State.

## MINUTE OF THE COUNCIL OF INDIA.

*By* Sir Charles Wood, K.C.B. *March 21st*, 1860.

At the close of the second Sikh war, it was determined to annex the Punjab to British territory, and to put an end to the separate Khâlsa Government of the Sikhs. The form in which the arrangement for this purpose was recorded, was a paper of terms granted and accepted at Lahore in 1849, and notified by the Governor-General.

The provisions in favour of the Maharajah are contained in the 4th and 5th Articles of those terms (the first three all being declaratory of the surrender) as follows:—

"4th. His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the Honourable East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the state, a pension not less than

four, and not exceeding five, lakhs of Company's rupees per annum. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

"5th. His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour. He shall retain the title of Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahadoor; and he shall continue to receive, during his life, such portion of the above-named pension as may be allowed to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select."

The terms were signed by the young Maharajah, and by six of the principal Sirdars and people of his court.

The first question is, what are the Maharajah's rights under the two articles, and what are the obligations which the Government of India came under towards him personally?

It is clear that, being a minor, required to live where the Governor-General might determine, he was not intended to be the recipient of the "pension not less than four, and not exceeding five, lakhs of Company's rupees per annum," which was to form the provision for "himself, his relatives," and "the servants of the State."

This Article, though using his name as the head of the State at the time the announcement was made, must be construed with the following Article, which provides that "he shall continue to receive, during his life, such portion of the above-named *pension* as may be allotted to himself personally," under the condition of good behaviour.

The personal claim of the Maharajah is here limited to the receipt, for his life, of his *personal* stipend; and the amount to be allotted to him was left entirely to the Government of India.

During the first years of the Maharajah's minority the annual sum allotted for his personal allowance was 120,000 rupees per annum. It was afterwards increased to 150,000 per annum; the increase taking effect from the date of his attaining the age of eighteen.

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The Indian Government recommended that, on his attaining the age of twenty-one, £25,000 should be allotted as his personal allowance. This sum, together with the present sums allotted to the other recipients of allowances, under the 4th Article, will exceed the the amount of four lakhs.

Some of these allowances will necessarily fall in sooner or later; and the amount of allowances will again be reduced below four lakhs.

A question may arise as to the obligations under the terms of 1849, as to the disposal of any such annual sums falling in.

The Maharajah seems to expect that he may be considered entitled to benefit from such lapses. But this claim has been distinctly negatived by Lord Dalhousie, who cannot be mistaken as to the meaning of the terms which he granted; and the provision that the Maharajah shall only receive what may be specially allotted to him, is so clear in the 5th Article, that he can evidently have no right to any increase of his stipend consequently.

It is evident that the portion of the pension allotted to others can only be for their respective lives.

The provision in the Maharajah's favour is only for life. This is expressly provided for.

It cannot be supposed that the allowances to be assigned to the other persons were for any other term than that assigned for the Maharajah's, namely, for their respective lives. The only other possible construction of the terms would be, that the allowances of the other parties were to be for the period of the Maharajah's life.

But it would be an absurdity to suppose because the 4th Article uses the Maharajah's name as the recipient of the entire provision, that the pensions assigned to other members of the family and State servants would at once have ceased if the Maharajah had happened to die during his minority. All of them, like the personal stipend of the Maharajah, must be regarded as assured life stipends, but not extending beyond life.

The amount, therefore, of any stipends so falling in hereafter, must, according to the terms of 1849, fall in to the British Government.

There is no doubt, however, but that, up to the present time, the difference between the sums allotted to the Maharajah, his relatives, and the servants of the State, and the amount of four lakhs, which was the smallest sum which it was provided that the British Government should apply to the purposes mentioned, has not been so expended. What the amount of such accumulation is we have no means of ascertaining in England; but it is understood that there may be a balance of between £150,000 and £200,000.

The Maharajah supposes he is entitled to claim this as payable to himself personally; first, because the 4th Article of the terms of 1849 uses his name as recipient of the whole four lakhs; and secondly, because he alleges that the balance is composed mainly, if not entirely, of short payments to himself, of what he considers to have been due to him during his minority.

The simple answer to this claim is afforded by the 5th Article, which specifically provides that he is only to receive the "portion of the above-named pension" that might be allotted to "himself personally," and the Government of India might allot to him whatever sum it thought proper, as it might in a like manner to the other persons referred to in the 4th Article. Any part of the £40,000 per annum which has not been allotted, and has accumulated in the Treasury of the British Government, is at their disposal; but they are bound to apply it for the purposes stated in the terms of 1849.

It is a fair question, however, what is the best method of disposing of any balance that the British Government has now in its hands, and which it is under obligation to spend for the benefit of these parties; and it would certainly seem that the most appropriate disposition will be to make a provision for the families of the life stipendiaries.

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It is to be observed that it is the practice in India, in dealing with political stipendiaries, to leave the provision for the family to be settled after the stipendiary's decease, and not to place it in the hands of the annuitant.

The Maharajah has felt the precarious position in which any family which he might leave would be placed in this respect, and has asked us to give him security on this point.

The Committee of the Council proposed a scheme on this especial point, namely, that a sum should be capitalized, sufficient to produce an annual sum of £10,000 per annum, as a permanent income after his death for his widow and any children he might leave.

The Maharajah has asked for permission to bequeath this amount to some public purpose for the Punjab, in case he should die childless; but to this the Committee have refused to accede.

By the terms of 1849, as already shown, the Maharajah is only entitled to receive for life such sum as may be allotted to him.

The Committee, however, were most willing to remove his natural anxiety, by enabling him to make a liberal provision for his wife and children after his death.

But they could not consistently with their sense of duty place at his disposal, by will, any funds for any other purpose. If funds should be available for public purposes, their application must rest with the Government.

The Committee further said that, if the Maharajah should prefer to receive at once such a proportion of the present accumulation as the Government of India may consider it proper to grant to him, with reference to the claims of all others interested, there can be no objection to that amount being paid to him down, leaving him to make his own arrangements for his family, which, in that case, would have no claim to look to the Government for any further provision after his decease. If the Maharajah prefers this to the offer of capitalizing a sum producing £10,000 per

annum as a trust-fund, for the benefit of his family, the case will be referred to the Governor-General of India, desiring him to ascertain what the real balance of unappropriated "pension" payable under the 4th Article of the Terms of 1849 now is—and also to determine the proportion of that balance which may fairly be assigned to the Maharajah. This is strictly conformable with those terms. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

The Council of India are of opinion that the proposal to capitalize the proportion of the stipend of £25,000 per annum, *i.e.*, £10,000 per annum, as a trust provision for his family, is the most beneficial arrangement for the Maharajah. They will, however, willingly accede to whichever of these arrangements he may prefer.

On the foregoing the Maharajah's remarks :—

The reader will see that the Government is of opinion that it is under no obligation to give, during the Maharajah's life, any larger pension than it may choose to allow, nor to give any pension to his family after his death.

The Maharajah does not agree to this as a true interpretation of the Treaty, nor, we think, would ordinary minds come to that conclusion.

It is admitted that the pension is not entirely to cease with the life of the Maharajah, but as to certain portions, it is to be continued after his death for certain purposes. It is also stated that the name of the Maharajah is used in the 4th Article of the Treaty, not in his individual capacity, but as "head of the State."

This reading favours the construction for which the Maharajah contends, viz., that the pension was to be hereditary, and that any forfeiture that he might incur would not prejudice the rights of his children.

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The Maharajah does not believe that it could have been intended to confine his compensation to a mere life pension in exchange for an hereditary estate of not less than two millions sterling per annum, which increases constantly with the prosperity of the country.

At all events, the interpretation put upon the Treaty by the Government is so unfavourable to the Maharajah, and to his posterity, and so different from what, we venture to say, an ordinary reader would gather from its perusal—so different from what must have been understood by the assembled chiefs in 1849, when they heard it read by Sir Henry Elliot—that, if correct, it requires some more impartial sanction and confirmation than that of a Government department to render it acceptable or satisfactory to the Maharajah.

If it were really intended after the Treaty to leave the Maharajah and his descendants entirely at the mercy of the British Government; if the Government also intended to absorb all his personal and private property, as well as to deprive him of his personal freedom, why ask him to sign any treaty at all? He and his were in the power of the British Government and army, who might have disposed of both at pleasure.

We cannot think that the India Office have rightly interpreted either the language or the spirit of the Treaty; but we unhesitatingly say that, if the Treaty does mean what Sir Charles Wood stated in his memorandum, it is a document which must excite feelings of just indignation in every honest mind.

As a consequence of its interpretations, as explained above, the Maharajah has never had what he considers to be the full benefit of the Treaty of 1849; and, moreover, he has, under cover of the Treaty, been deprived of private property and lands which it did not profess to confiscate.

Taking a lakh of rupees to be equal to £10,000, the pension would be between £40,000 and £50,000 (say £45,000).

The payments actually made to the Maharajah are as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| From 1849 to 1856 | ... ... | £12,000 per annum. | |
| ,, 1856 to 1858 | ... ... | £15,000 | ,, |
| ,, 1858 onwards | ... ... | £25,000 | ,, |

Besides these payments, allowances to relatives and dependants to the extent of £18,000 per annum at the commencement (1849) which were reduced to £15,000 in 1859 have been made. These allowances have rapidly dwindled into a very small sum, if indeed they have not vanished altogether.

In 1859 about £100,000 was the aggregate saving of the Government on the four lakhs.

In 1862 the Government provided a sum of £105,000 (which probably was the exact amount saved, but they endeavoured to make it appear as a voluntary provision made by them), for the purchase of an estate, to be settled on the Maharajah and his issue, also empowering him to bequeath to his legitimate offspring a sum of four per cent. India Capital Stock, to be provided by Government, this amount to be sufficient to yield an income of £7,000 per annum, subsequently increased to £10,800 per annum.

Between 1862 and 1882 the Government advanced the sum of £198,000, charged on the India Capital Stock, and (in the event of his leaving no issue) on the Suffolk estates.

Of this, £60,000 was lent free of interest, the remainder, £138,000, was part at four per cent., and part at five per cent., the terms being precisely what could have been obtained from any insurance office in the City of London.

The Government, however, agreed to pay half the premiums on policies of insurance for £100,000 on the Maharajah's life (the Maharajah bearing the other half, in respect of which the Government now deduct £1,575 annually from his allowance).

But the additional price exacted for these advances was, that the mansion and all the Suffolk estates, whether bought with the £105,000 (specially provided for the purchase of a family

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estate), or with the loans raised from Government, or with the Maharajah's own money, shall be sold at the Maharajah's death. Thus the Government have rendered futile the prospect of landed proprietorship for the Maharajah's heirs.

The money result in the year 1884 to the Maharajah of these operations is roughly as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Annual pension from Government ... | | £25,000 |
| Deductions by Government:— | | |
| For interest per annum ... | £5,664 | |
| For premiums of insurance ... | 1,575 | |
| | | 7,239 |
| Net sum received by the Maharajah from Government per annum. | | £17,761 |

The Maharajah complains that the payments made to him are not in fulfilment of the stipulations of the Treaty. He considers that under the Treaty he ought, after he was of age, to have received the full pension himself paying out the allowances to his relatives and dependants.

If this be correct, the Government have withheld from him sums which, it is calculated, must amount to more than the whole of their advances to him, although the figures of the account have not been furnished by Government.

As to the £105,000 paid him in 1862, if it does, in fact, represent, as he believes, the aggregate amount of sums withheld up to 1859 (calculating his pension at the minimum of four lakhs only), it does not include interest on those accumulations.

It seems hard to the Maharajah, under these circumstances, to be paying large sums of interest every year to the Government, whom he believes to be his debtors; and he hopes, that if ever they should pay him his accumulations, they will pay him back interest on the sums which they have, from time to time, retained, and withheld from his use.

The following is the provision for the widow and children of the Maharajah:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Value of Suffolk estates (say) ... ... | £200,000 |
| Insurance moneys ... ... ... | 100,000 |
| £72,000 East India Stock ... ... | 72,000 |
| Total provision ... ... ... | £372,000 |

This realized at 3½ per cent. would give an income of £13,000, to be divided amongst his widow and children.

We have already stated that the Maharajah contends that the original pension of £45,000 per annum is in its nature *hereditary*, and ought to be continued undiminished after his death to his descendants.

The revenues of the Punjab are not dependent on the tenure of a life, nor do they diminish year by year; and the pension awarded by the Treaty of 1849 should most certainly be regarded as a first charge on those revenues.

From another part of the same book other extracts are supplied, which show how anxious the Maharajah was to have his affairs settled by arbitration.

*Extract from work published by the* MAHARAJAH, *entitled, "The Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Government."*

How stands the case between the British Government and the Maharajah?

It was thought expedient (it could not be just or right) to annex his kingdom.

To take care of his private estates and property, and to restore

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them undiminished to him when of age, was the bounden duty of the new Governors of the country, under the circumstances, even had they not been the personal guardians of the boy.

Nevertheless, these estates and property have been appropriated, without apparently a question, or the slightest hesitation on the part of the distinguished and accomplished persons who, from time to time, have constituted the Government of the Punjab, under the new *régime*.

The whole has been treated as if it had been spoil of war.

These estates, as we know, were untouched by the Treaty; but how have we acted towards the Maharajah in our fulfilment of the terms stipulated for by that Treaty?

The Government has explained away all the provision apparently intended to be secured to the Maharajah, and assured him that, although one clause in it tells him that he is to receive between £40,000 and £50,000 per annum, the next clause, if properly understood, according to official interpretation, entirely takes away such right, and leaves him at the absolute mercy of the Government, to give as much or as little as they please.

Lord Lawrence, in reference to another Indian prince (who was not a British ward), says:—

"The question "whether in dealing with an Asiatic ruler, like Shere Ali, the common rules of European international law have any application whatever," is again passed over.

I affirm that it should not so be treated. If international law has no application in this case, then what is the law or principle on which the cause between Shere Ali and ourselves is to be tried. *Are we to be the judges in our own cause?* Are we to decide in accordance with our own interests? Is this an answer which Englishmen will give in so grave a matter?

In another place Lord Lawrence justly observes:—

Statesmen should never forget that the real foundations of our power in India do not rest on the interested approval of a noisy few. *They rest on justice*,

on the contentment of the millions, who may not always be silent and quiescent, and on their feeling that in spite of the selfish clamour of those who profess to be their guardians and representatives, they may place *implicit trust in the equal justice of our Government*, and in its watchful care of the interests of the masses of the people.



Here we have to do with a treaty and a series of transactions, one party to which is the British Government in its own right, and the other party is the ward of the same British Government.

In the one capacity the British Government want to escape from paying more, or giving up more, than they can help; in the other capacity it has always been their duty, as guardians and trustees, to uphold the interests of the Maharajah, and claim and recover for him all he could fairly demand, from whomsoever it might be.

The Maharajah accuses the Government of having allowed its attention to the interests of the department to interfere with its duty to his interests, and refuses to be satisfied with the correctness of its decision between those interests.

Is it impossible in such a case to provide some impartial tribunal, such as might carry conviction to a reasonable mind that injustice had not been done by irresponsible power? Are there no eminent lawyers of judicial rank whose services might be engaged to hear and decide the conflicting claims?

Or must the nation bear the reproach of its Government, insisting on being judges in its own cause, to the neglect of those sacred principles which Lord Lawrence terms the "foundation of our power in India?"

While the Maharajah was engaged in compiling the book from which the foregoing has been quoted, he had also sent out to India an agent from the firm of Messrs. Farrer & Co., his solicitors, with instruc-

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tions to examine the records of the Punjab, with a view to establishing the Maharajah's claims on certain private estates.

Shortly after his agent's return, the Maharajah addressed a letter to Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India (March, 1885), forwarding a statement of private estates, claimed by him as inherited from Runjeet Singh, a Sirdar of the Punjab, and his predecessors, concluding the letter as follows :—

> Your Lordship by this time is fully aware that unless the British Government is prepared to accord me speedily some measure of justice, I shall be compelled to abandon permanently my landed estates and position in England, as I am unable adequately to maintain either with the means now accorded to me; in which case, the moderate and legitimate expectations with which I was induced to settle in this country must be utterly disappointed, and I myself and my family be reduced to a state inferior to that of many of the subjects of the State of which I was the Sovereign when my country was annexed by the British Goverement.

The subjoined statement is the result of a careful inquiry made by the Maharajah's agent in several districts of the Punjab. No estates have been claimed as private property that came into the possession of Runjeet Singh subsequent to the year 1800, that being the year in which he attained to the sovereignty of the Punjab.

*Estates claimed by Duleep Singh as private property (of which some part have been in the possession of his family from the time of Nodh Singh, his great-great-grandfather):—*

In the districts of—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Goojranwala | ..61 villages; | of which 33 were | left by Churrut Singh. |
| Goojrat | ...10 ,, | ,, 6 ,, | ,, ,, ,, |
| Jhelum | ...55 ,, | ,, all ,, | ,, ,, ,, |
| (Including the salt-mines of Pind Dadur Khan.) | | | |
| Sealkote | ...18 villages; | ,, 9 ,, | ,, ,, ,, |
| Goordaspore | ... 6 ,, | ,, all ,, | ,, Maha Singh. |
| Amritsar | ... 2 ,, | left by Nodh Singh. | |

The remainder of the above were left by Maha Singh, others being acquired by Runjeet Singh.

The annual value of the above villages is Rs.2,04,99, £20,499.

The revenue of the salt mines is now about forty lakhs. (1869.—Rs.44,91,458=£449,145.) In Sikh times said to be under six lakhs.*

The inquiry does not extend all over the Punjab. There are known to be other villages belonging to Churrut Singh, especially about Rawul Pindee.

No reference is here made to the claims of the Maharajah to the intestate estates of deceased relatives, many of whom are known to have died since the date of annexation.

* See *ante*, p. 99.

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While the question of the Maharajah's claims to private property is under consideration; it may be well to enter here a valuation of the personal property pillaged at Futtehghur during the Mutiny. This return was made out by Sir John Login, and sent in to the Indian Office at the time that compensation claims were called for.

*Value of property pillaged at Futtehghur.*

| | Rupees. |
|---|---|
| Land and houses purchased by His Highness... ... | 93,014 |
| Furniture and fittings of all descriptions, including table-furniture, plate, glass, and crockery ... ... | 74,403 |
| Tent equipage made at Futtehghur ... ... ... | 10,765 |
| Farrash Khana property, consisting of Cashmere tents, carpets, Muslunda quilts, chogas, elephant jhools, &c., ... | 20,000 |
| | 198,182 |

In compensation for this claim, the British Government offered £3,000, which the Maharajah refused to accept, considering the proposition an insult.

The Government has never accounted to the Maharajah for the money received for the sale of the house, nor has he received anything in respect of the value of the land, though the papers show that the whole was purchased out of his money, nor any compensation in respect of the contents of the house, which were destroyed at the Mutiny.

Such then is the position of the Maharajah Duleep Singh with the British Government.

For upwards of thirty years has he been at issue with them on various points, small questions no doubt at first, which would have instantly disappeared had the recommendations of Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie been adopted; but which, as time went on, became more and more of vital importance to the Maharajah, and, in a corresponding ratio, less and less interesting to the officials who had to deal with the case, as they had no hand in the original Treaty.

Is he, therefore, entirely to blame for his present attitude towards the British nation?

If no excuse can be found for *him*, are the children to suffer for the sins of the father?

FINIS.

# APPENDIX.

## I.

### Extract from a Letter to Mr. John Bright, M.P., on the policy of our rule in India.

*(In reply to one of his dated September 1st, 1857.)*

*Sept.* 1857.

My dear Mr. Bright,

. . . . The intelligence from India continues to be indeed most painful, and full of atrocities and treachery, although certainly not causing more apprehension or anxiety, as to the final result, than it did at first. That we should have been able to maintain our ground so well against such odds, could never have been anticipated by the mutineers; and when they hear of the successive arrivals of ships from England with reinforcements, before they have succeeded in establishing civil power in a single district, we may have reason to hope their treacherous, cowardly hearts will quail within them through fear.

No one who has had opportunity of seeing Mahomedans (and Hindoos) in countries to which our influence had not extended, is much surprised at atrocities which are not very uncommon among them, and although the dread of consequences under our rule has prevented the exercise of such revolting cruelties, there is scarcely a man, woman, or child among them, to whose imagination they are not perfectly familiar, and, except by those

whom education has enlightened, who does not consider them to be perfectly justifiable, if not praiseworthy, against "Kafirs," such as we are! This revolt has torn the veil from Hindooism and Mahomedanism, and shown them in their true colours.

I am quite as anxious as you can be, that we should bring no discredit on the Christian name by the manner in which we make these miserable wretches atone for their appalling atrocities. Of all that can be proved to have been ringleaders in the revolt, we have no alternative than to make a most fearful example. But those who have taken a lead in these atrocities are, I believe, few in comparison with the multitudes who have been led astray by them, and for whose ignorance we are, to a certain extent, responsible.

Whenever we are again in a position to enforce order, and to bring the guilty to punishment, we need be under no difficulties, however numerous they may be. With so many railroads to make in India, on which convict labour can be made useful, so many settlements and colonies within the tropics, such as Pegu, Mauritius and the West India Islands, where a labouring population is required, so many ships available to convey them, and with a sincere desire to remove the ignorance and superstition which have caused such atrocities, we may confidently hope that, with God's help, we shall yet be able to "overcome evil with good."

The manner in which our countrymen have been led to carry out the sentence of death upon these mutineers, with a view to make their executions more impressive upon the natives that witness them, is certainly most distressing, and I deeply deplore it; but if it has the effect of deterring others from such crimes, and depriving the criminals of that bravado which leads them to rush to the halter prepared for them and die as martyrs, I cannot find fault with it; for, however revolting, it is not more cruel or less instantaneous than any other mode, nor am I apprehensive that it will have the effect you suppose of "rousing revengeful feelings which time can never heal." The people of India consider us to be perfectly justified in thus punishing men guilty of such atrocities against us, knowing from the general leniency of our punishments hitherto that we have only been driven to them by their treachery; and if we can only succeed in putting down the

mutiny, and re-establishing our power firmly, I should have no more apprehension of going unarmed among the very sons of these men in their villages than I ever had.

In truth, with this, as in other things, we are obliged often to act in opposition to our right feelings, and in a manner which would be most unjustifiable among a people less barbarous in heart, in order to give that impression of our power and energy which is necessary to enable us to do any good among them, and to raise them out of that debasing superstition and ignorance which is the fruitful source of all these atrocities.

In the same way, I am quite prepared to make more allowances for such men as Clive, Warren Hastings, and others of our countrymen in India than you do, for being carried away by their successes (among a people who held their possessions by the sword) to acts and results which, to our settled notions of rights of property for so many centuries, appear most extravagant and oppressive; and I am very certain that even at this present moment—after we have, by the strength of our Government for the last fifty years, given a security to individual rights unknown before—there is not a single native of India who has read or heard of Clive or Warren Hastings, who attaches that discredit to their proceedings which Englishmen do. It is very true that you may have been in the way of hearing natives of India profess very high-flown sentiments on these points, as it suited their individual interests to do so; but I am very much mistaken, after twenty-five years' experience of them, and among such men as Lord Metcalfe, Mr. Thomason, and many others (who knew them better than I can pretend to do), if there is a single one who, in circumstances like Clive, Warren Hastings, and other Englishmen, would have shown half their moderation.

We must never forget that public opinion among natives of India generally is in many respects not further advanced than it was in England during the Heptarchy (certainly *not* so far in its religious basis), and that our ideas of individual rights and abstract justice are comparatively new to them, and can with difficulty be adapted to their minds. They are making progress, no doubt, and that very rapidly; and another fifty years of our rule, and the security enjoyed under it, will bring them well up to us, if we do our duty.

But, dear Mr. Bright, instead of giving much thought to the misdeeds of our predecessors in India—the cruelties of which I am sure you exaggerate greatly, and which I am very confident are not considered so bad by Asiatics as by ourselves, and cause but little ill-will towards us—I am anxious that you should turn your attention to *existing* evils, with a view to remove them. If the present state of India is a just judgment upon us, it is not so much for the misdeeds of the past century, as for the present neglect of duty and want of confidence in the right policy we should pursue.

Through the blessing of God, we have been placed in India in a position of the highest influence and responsibility.

We had an army of nearly 300,000 men, composed of Hindoos and Mahomedans, the most ignorant, most bigoted, and most superstitious of any class in India. We have had opportunities, no one can deny, of removing much of that ignorance, bigotry, and superstition by introducing education among them, without causing the least alarm for their religion (caste); and there are many who think that they were open to religious instruction without endangering our influence over them in the smallest degree. Instead, however, of our doing anything to enlighten them, as it was our duty to do, we have pampered them in all their ignorant superstitions; flattered them into a belief that as soldiers they were quite equal to ourselves, and instructed them only through the drill-sergeant. Is it to be wondered at that they should think we held India only by their sufferance, and that they should attempt to wrest it from us?

Our successes in India have placed many of the princes and chief sin our power, with all their families and dependants; many of them receiving pensions greater than the revenues of some independent states in Europe. We have had influence sufficient to induce them to educate their children, at least, in secular knowledge, and to show them the world as it now exists; but we have not done so; we have been satisfied to let them live in that state of sensuality natural to them, to indulge in dreams of their former greatness, surrounded by sycophants and slaves, and to be instructed only by the most bigoted of their creed, until, like the old Mogul and his family, and the atrocious Nana Sahib, we have prepared them fitly for the position they have assumed.

As the Paramount State in India for the last fifty years, we had the "right of presentation" (according to established practice under the Delhi emperors, and which the present puppet of the mutineers will, no doubt, affect to assume) to almost all the minor principalities in India, and, as such, the right of placing whom we pleased to rule over them, if we thought fit to do so.

During the reigns of the great emperors of Delhi to the time of Arungzebe (Alumgheer) this right was almost uniformly acted upon, and these petty *musnuds* were given away by them as readily as a *kardarship*, or *jagheer*, in the Punjab, by old Runjeet Singh, a few years since. The right of a son to succeed his father was never dreamed of, although it most frequently happened that a son was considered by the Emperor and his courtiers to be the fittest man for it, and could afford to pay the handsomest *nuzzur* on accession; in which case, he was, of course, preferred, and the grant and dress of honour sent to him, when he was considered by his subjects to be duly installed.

Of course, when the Emperor thought he could more conveniently and profitably hold the province under his own officials, he did so, receiving the revenues into his own treasury, and paying the functionaries himself, instead of giving out the province and the people on lease!

When the power of the Delhi emperors declined, princes and chiefs who had these *soubahs* and minor states naturally endeavoured to transmit them to their sons, and, in most cases, succeeded; but they never felt themselves secure in their position until they received a *sumnud* from the Delhi Emperor, even when a captive in the Mahratta camp.

When the success of our arms in the upper provinces of India placed the representative of the Mogul emperors in our hands, he transferred all his regal rights to our Government, on certain conditions, which have by us been faithfully fulfilled; and, although the East India Company (in deference, I believe, to public opinion in England, which considered such rights to be nothing more valuable than the claim of our Sovereign to the Crown of France) have not exercised those rights to their full extent, they had, in case of failure of direct heirs to such states, as they have them.

selves re-established, very properly acted upon this principle, leaving, however, personal property to the families of deceased princes, with pensions suitable to their wants.

Having, however, adopted so much of these rights as was convenient, they ought not to have neglected other responsibilities attached to their position, as they undoubtedly have done, viz., the duty of ascertaining and ensuring the proper qualifications of rulers succeeding, under their auspices, to the government of the subordinate states, and thus affording proper protection to the interests of their subjects.

Had the Government of India done their duty in this respect, and taken measures for the proper education and instruction of every young prince in India, over whom they had such right of influence, I doubt not that, ere this, we should have seen many native states much more advanced than they are in order and good government.

There is yet another point over which, I think, the East India Company have been greatly led astray, and of which the present position of India shows the extreme danger.

The policy of the Indian Government has, I believe, not intentionally, but not the less certainly, given encouragement to military employment far beyond its proper bounds; and I am convinced that, under a better system, there need not have been more than one-third the present number of native soldiers in India withdrawn from peaceful occupations.

So long as we had large native states, with their numerous armies, to oppose us, it was necessary for us not only to employ as many Sepoys as we could afford for our own defence, but to prevent them enlisting, under native princes, against us; but when the success of our arms had reduced the power of the native chiefs, and forced them to accept our terms—instead of attempting to reduce the military population of each state, as might often have been done, by disarming them, and in cases where we undertook their external defence, permitting no greater number of troops to be entertained by the chief than was necessary as personal guard, and for civil duties—our Government has been led by influences of various kinds to insist rather upon the organization of large contingents, to be officered by our army and paid by the subject state, leaving the chief very often to use his

own discretion as to the number of troops he should retain in his service, or at least taking little account of them.

As these contingents are perfect thorns in the sides of native potentates, and a constant source of ill-will and apprehension, obliging them often to keep up more troops than they would otherwise have done, it cannot be doubted that had the necessity or expediency of reducing military employment been sufficiently impressed upon our Government, this end might have been easily attained, by insisting on disarming when we had the power, taking notice of the smallest infraction of the Treaty as to the number of troops to be employed, and requiring the payment of a small amount as tribute, in money, or produce, or the assignment of a district, to defray the expense of any addition which might be required to our own army for the external defence of the country.

It may perhaps serve to illustrate the extent to which native princes are sometimes permitted to increase the number of troops in their pay for the civil duties of the country, if I remark that the ruler of Oude in 1801 was limited by Lord Wellesley to the employment of seven or eight thousand men, but had up to 1848 been allowed to increase that number gradually to 55,000! We need not therefore wonder that Oude has been considered so long our nursery for Sepoys!

I could also say something on our "temporizing policy," in endowing their temples and mosques instead of boldly telling them that, as Christians, we can have nothing to do with them, but I have said enough, and must go on to another subject.

Had I not been aware of your sentiments, so well expressed in your letter to the electors of Birmingham, that to "restore order to India is mercy to India," I should have felt alarmed at the thought being entertained that "the loss of India would not ruin England, although the cost of keeping and the effort may;" but when I know that your remark does not refer to the present, but to some future time, when our rule can only be maintained there against the wishes of the people, by military power, and at a cost of English blood and treasure exceeding its benefits to the country and to India, I can readily acknowledge its propriety.

If I could not look forward to the time when we shall rule

India by other influences than mere military force, I should be disposed at once, after the revolt has been sufficiently suppressed and order restored, to select native rulers apparently best able to hold the ground in each of our provinces, endeavour to strengthen their position, enter into commercial relations with them, and leave them to govern their people in the way best adapted to their circumstances.

But however much in the opinion of many who judge of the Government of India only from an English point of view, a national insurrection was at any time to be expected against it, the present revolt has nothing of the dignity of that character. On the contrary, all our information tends to show that the people are by no means disaffected towards us, and would consider the loss of our government to be a great calamity.

The rebellion has not then the least spark of that patriotism in it which the natural feelings of free Englishmen are ready to admire, even when opposed to us, but as a mere impotent attempt of ignorant fanaticism, unfortunately fostered by ourselves, to stem the tide of advancing civilization.

Even amidst all the horrors of present anarchy, I can discern the dawnings of a brighter intelligence, and of an influence likely to be more lasting than military rule, requiring only the fostering care of a powerful Government, and the security to individual rights (which recent events will teach our Indian subjects to appreciate) to be developed to its full extent, and to bind India to England in bonds of mutual interest and good-will.

With a better knowledge of the power and enterprise of England diffused among our fellow-subjects there, will arise the feeling that our national character and commercial energy are necessary to develop and promote their industrial wealth, and that the most productive country in the world, with a population so little able to find markets for themselves, must necessarily be dependent on the strongest and most enterprising of the maritime powers, and united to it in the bonds of self-interest.

But may we not entertain hopes of even a higher influence than these, and that with the extension of the Gospel message—which, as Christians, it is our duty to make known—stronger sympathies will be awakened between us, to bind us in a new relation, under the influence of which we may safely leave them

to govern themselves, without any misgivings as to the consequences?

With such a prospect before us, let us throw all doubts aside as to our policy towards India, and at once boldly undertake the responsibilities which Providence has entrusted to us, assured that if we do so in a right spirit, strength will be given to us to carry it out!

Although you have at least given as much consideration to the subject as I have, and applied the great abilities and judgment with which God has blessed you to devise a plan of government for India suited to its present wants, you may, nevertheless, accept a few suggestions I have to offer as to its organization, in the hope they may be useful.*

As the interests of the English nation in the government of India have now attained too great a magnitude to be entrusted to any other power than the Imperial Legislature, and as the East India Company's government has existed long enough to show that it has established an influence in India likely to be more lasting than military power, I think that it may retire from its responsibilities as soon as order has been restored, and with very much greater credit than you are perhaps prepared to concede to it. . . . .

Believe me, dear Mr. Bright,

Yours sincerely,

J. S. Login.

## II.

### Extracts from the Correspondence on the future Government of India between Sir Charles Phipps and Sir John Login, *July*, 1857.

The first of these papers opens with a defence of the civil administration of the country under the

* This is in reference to a scheme for the government of India, to which allusion will be made later.

Company's government, pointing to the fact that the people are more contented under it, and have enjoyed more peace and security, than under any other Government which ever existed there.

"I believe it to be equally true," says Sir John Login, "that with so much corruption and want of integrity on the part of the native officials, whom they are obliged to employ, and so much apathy (as to public measures), selfish avarice, and ignorance, on the part of the people, it would have been impossible for any Government to have done more for the civil administration of the country than has been done by them. I admit that they may have been urged on to activity in their civil administration by the frequent attacks made upon it in Parliament; but these attacks have been so often made by men who only see everything from an English point of view, and who are so manifestly ill-qualified to judge of the true state of matters, and so full of prejudice against the Company's government, that all the sympathies of old Indian officers are enlisted in favour of their old masters; and they are *averse* to *expose* the real defects of their rule, or to add in any way to their embarrassment. To those who have given consideration to the subject, it has been for some time sufficiently evident that the weak point in the Company's government has not been so much the civil as the military administration; but, strange to say, this has seldom been made the subject of attack in Parliament, and I am not aware that the reduction of strength of the native army in India has ever been proposed even by my friend Mr. Bright."

After alluding to the necessity which formerly existed for maintaining a much larger native army than was now required,* he continues:—"It was politic to conciliate these men to our discipline as far as possible, and to avoid every offence to caste prejudices. I fear that these attempts to conciliate were, in the early days of our rule, carried much beyond conscientious limits,

*See *ante*, letter to Mr. Bright, p. 556.

and to an extent which would not now be sanctioned by the lowest code of Christian morality. . . . . When the reduction of the Punjab . . . . removed the last independent native army from which any danger was to be apprehended . . . . the proper time would appear to have arrived for commencing to reduce the strength of our native army, and for increasing our European force." He then speaks of the fatal policy of making European troops dependent on native commissariat contractors, and of placing an arsenal like Delhi in sole charge of native troops. He gives his reasons for believing that "although several Bengal regiments have frequently shown an exacting spirit, and one or two have actually mutinied and been disbanded," yet no "real disaffection to the Government has existed among them until within a very recent period;" and then mentions the causes which, in his opinion, led to the Mutiny, and says, that providentially for us, the revolt broke out sooner than was intended by the ringleaders, and before the mutineers had concerted all their arrangements. As a medical officer he then remarks, that though the heat would be injurious to the European troops at that season, yet that during the excitement of active service they suffer less, or, at least, *quite as little*, as native troops (an opinion fully borne out by subsequent events). When order should be at length restored, and any hostile population disarmed, he suggests that a police corps, mounted and on foot, should be organized in every district, under English officers as magistrates; that European camps, fully equipped and able to take the field on the shortest notice, should be formed (say at Dehra, the Murree Hills, and Darjeeling for Northern India) with detachments to every magazine and depôt; that good roads, with caravanserais at marching distances, should be made wherever railroads cannot be constructed; that men of high caste should not be *excluded* from enlisting, but should not be allowed to *preponderate* in the ranks, which should consist of a due proportion of men of every caste, and that there should be an admixture of Sikhs, Goorkhas, and Mahomedans in *every company*. Though this might cause more trouble to their officers in cantonments, there would be less risk of conspiracy, and their loyalty would be better ensured. All troops should be enlisted on the understanding that they were to be employed

beyond seas if required, or on fatigue duties as sappers and miners. He concludes with the suggestion that it might be advisable to attach one, or perhaps two, companies of Punjabi Mahomedans and hill-men to each European corps, to be commanded by the regimental officers; they would be useful, he says, in relieving Europeans from unnecessary exposure, and in training young officers for service with the native army.

This memorandum, and its accompanying letter, called forth the following response:—

OSBORNE, *Aug. 7th*, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Although overwhelmed with business, as you may suppose, during the visit of the Emperor and Empress, I must write one line to thank you again for your *most interesting* letters, and to beg you will continue to enlighten me upon Indian affairs, which, I know, that you understand better than most people. I am happy to hear that Burnand is supposed to have shown great energy and skill before Delhi, and I hope that he may have shown equal military skill in his attack upon the town itself, which seems, from the plan, to have a large, straggling, outside fortification, with a pretty strong citadel or palace.

What a blessing that the Maharajah was not in India at the time of this fearful outbreak. I cannot conceive a more distressing position than his would have been.

Have you ever turned in your mind what will be the best plan for the future formation of an efficient army in India?

Sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

In response to the concluding sentence in the above letter, Login prepared and presented to Sir Charles a

memorandum on the reorganization of the Indian army, of which we can only afford space to give the leading points.

This scheme provides for a large European force, an auxiliary native army, and a native military police; also for the formation of a staff corps, and the regulation of pay, promotion, and pensions, of both European and native officers in all branches of the service.

It commences with these words:—

"To place our military establishment in Bengal on a secure and efficient basis, after the suppression of the present revolt, it appears necessary—

(1) That we should possess a large European force, perfectly equipped, and ready for field service;

(2) An *auxiliary native army* of infantry and cavalry under English officers, sufficiently equipped to oppose successfully any Asiatic troops which can be brought against us, and—

(3) A native military police, mounted and on foot, under the command of English military officers, with magisterial powers, to be stationed in every district for support of civil authority."

The European force in Bengal, North-West Provinces, and Punjab, were to be formed into three or more large camps in the neighbourhood of the hills, where the men could be employed in various ways throughout the day, even in the hot weather. The native troops were to be cantoned in detached regiments, and only brigaded in the cold weather for exercise. Each native regiment was to be complete in camp-equipage, but carriage was to be indented for, as was then the rule. The native military police were to form local stationary corps, distributed over the several *thannas*; large parties occupying the *serais* along the roads, and furnishing guards at the *chowkies*.

European officers who have not passed the examination in Urdu, or who are under twenty-one years of age, to be posted to European

portion of force; those who have passed such examinations, are above the age of twenty-one, and are acquainted with their military duties, may be posted to the native army.

A staff corps to be formed, from which the military staff, diplomatic, military-police and civil departments were to be supplied.

Further, it appeared necessary:—

(1) To form an active and retired list of general and field officers as in the royal service. The retired list to include all general and field officers above the age of ——, or those of younger age who may be unfit for active service in the field.

(2) To offer increase of pension to induce all officers above thirty-five years' service to retire at once with additional rank.

Promotion in the staff corps was to be somewhat less rapid than in the more military branch.

Young officers, on first joining, to be attached to European regiments for two years, then to be examined in native languages, regimental drills and exercises, &c., . . . . and then posted to European or native corps or staff corps, according to qualifications. Those posted to native army to remain attached to European corps, till passed in Urdu, and otherwise fit to command in native regiments as lieutenants on the general list.

Officers of engineers, artillery, and staff corps to be classified in a *general* list.

Officers of European cavalry and infantry—*regimentally*, until field officers, then on a *general* list.

Officers of native cavalry and infantry—on a *general* list for army rank, but for duty in regiments, *regimentally*.

Officers of European cavalry and infantry to be allowed to take special appointments for a specified time, but afterwards to return to regimental duty, or else to enter staff corps, where promotion is less rapid.

Permission should be given soldiers of Madras and Bombay armies to enter Bengal service if desired.

The new native army to be organized on the following principles:—

(1) Men of all respectable castes admitted in fair proportion, but neither Brahmins nor Syuds in too large numbers.

(2) To proceed wherever ordered, by sea or otherwise.

(3) To be formed into messes of ten men each, one man of good caste selected as cook or caterer.

(4) Armed with muskets and fusils, not requiring greased cartridges.

(5) When not employed on military duty, to serve as sappers and pioneers, extra *batta* being given.

(6) Each native infantry regiment to consist of not more than 600 men, under one commandant, four officers of companies, one adjutant and quartermaster, one serjeant-major, and one quartermaster-sergeant; with one native commissioned officer for each company, and the usual proportion of non-commissioned rank.

(7) Promotion to rank of native officer not to be by seniority, as formerly, but deserving havildars to be occasionally promoted from other regiments.

(8) When necessary to supersede an old havildar, that he be permitted to retire on half-pay, with the rank of Jemadar, to recruit for the regiment in his native village.

(9) That no European officer be appointed to a company who has not passed the Urdu examination, nor any be eligible who has not passed as interpreter (after a specified date), for the position of commandant or adjutant.

(10) That no officer be appointed to a native corps who has not attained the age of twenty-one, or has not been thoroughly instructed in drill and discipline with an European regiment.

(11) Pay of European commandant to be not less than £1,000; adjutant and quartermaster £600; officers of companies (exclusive of allowance for repairs of arms) £400, increasing according to rank and service to £600 or more.

In regular cavalry, *if still kept up*, each regiment to consist of three squadrons, each troop to be commanded by an European officer (the senior holding squadrons), and one supernumerary officer attached to each squadron in the field. In the irregular

cavalry, one commandant, one second in command, and one adjutant, appear sufficient.

The pay of officers of regular cavalry to be one-fourth more than the infantry, and that of irregular cavalry one-third above infantry scale; but no officer to be appointed to the latter who has not passed as interpreter, or is not noted as a good horseman, or skilled in military exercises.

The dress of the whole native army to be made more suitable to the climate and habits of the men.

The concluding portion treats of the medical staff to be attached to each regiment, and of the improvement of the schools already established in many regiments for the children of Christian bandsmen; these latter were to be extended and the Sepoys encouraged to attend them.

In reference to the above memorandum Sir Charles writes:—

OSBORNE, *Aug.* 18*th*, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have read your letters and the papers which accompanied them, with all the interest which they excite and deserve.

They are very valuable to me, as instructing me upon a subject of which I am very ignorant, but which is certainly the paramount subject of the day, and which must before long engross the chief attention of statesmen.

Your military plan has much that is good in it, and the chief points to which I should have objected would be the appearance of promotion, as it were, from the European regiments to the native—the reason for this is evidently the acquirement of a proficiency in the native languages, but unless you gave some material advantage in pay, or advantages to these corps, you would not, I think, induce young men to undergo this extra trouble for the purpose of commanding Indians instead of Englishmen—and if you do make the commissions in the native

service more valuable, I think you would create great jealousy. The selection for civil and political employment from the staff corps, would, I fear, not only open the door to much jobbery, but would take all your best men from the department in which it is most necessary to retain them. . . . But my opinion is, and I believe it is one that is very generally spreading, that, now that it is necessary that the army in India should be, in a very large proportion, composed of Europeans—that is, of Englishmen—it is impossible that the lives, the reputation, and the *prestige* of British armies should any longer be left under the control and government of the East India Company. The anomaly, even whilst the Indian army consisted of natives, and the white regiments were the exception, was a very startling one, and the system certainly has not, in point of experience, worked well—indeed, the constant jealousies between the Royal and Company's officers was in itself a sufficient practical difficulty; but it appears to me impossible, *speaking solely and entirely for myself*, to justify, in any way, the raising of a large British army, to serve anybody but the Queen.

There appears to me to be objections to such a system—constitutional, economical, political, and moral—that render it quite impossible to be continued. It does not require much argument, I think, to prove that it is not likely that the directors of the East India Company should be very able military administrators, and it is well known how little power is entrusted to the Commander-in-Chief in India. The system has been an enormous command of patronage, exercised at a distance, and the local administration of the army has never been entrusted to the Commander-in-Chief in India, whilst by staff and civil appointments, those who remain in the ranks of the army are divided into two classes—the expectants of employment, and consequent seekers of patrons; and the disappointed and discontented.

I feel confident, from what I hear and see around, that the rule of the Company is doomed; and though I am aware that the subject is a most delicate and most difficult one, with which I am wholly incompetent to grapple, I am equally convinced that the only problems now to be solved are the how and the when.

The other question upon which you touch—the missionary efforts to convert the native population—is one of *at least* equal

difficulty. . . . . No one, I think, can object to the voluntary efforts of missionaries and their parent societies, . . . . but, in the first place, great care must be taken that these attempts are not, in any degree, combined or mixed up with your acts of government, or any display of your power. You, *as a Government*, are not entitled to deal with them, as a people, upon this subject. . . . . Private, devout and earnest individuals may at their own cost and hazard endeavour to win individuals . . . . to Christianity; but they must do this with a proper regard for the feelings, however erroneous, of those whom they attack, or take the consequences. . . . . The burthen of this lecture* is, throughout, the direct interference of the Almighty in the work of His mission. This is a most dangerous doctrine, but a very common one amongst very earnest religious men. It is evident that what God personally does, or marks His approval of, cannot be wrong; and if, therefore, they can only attain assent to their assertion, it necessarily follows that whatever they do is right. To carry on the greatest work of life, reason, as well as zeal, is requisite. . . . . In short, when we attempt to eradicate the frightful superstitions of the Hindoos, we must take care that the pure religion which we give them in return is not blurred with the slightest shade of superstition.

. . . . . If this mutiny has not originated in a religious feeling, excited by the Brahmins, have you any idea *upon what it is* founded? The Sepoys did not appear to have brought forward any complaint as to their treatment as soldiers; there does not appear to have been any political element in it, at least, no political object has been declared; but *if* a general idea has been given the natives that there was an extended intention to break down their differences of caste, and to press upon them a change of religion, I cannot but think that the work of conversion, holy and commendable in itself, necessary, and ultimately certain in its success, has not at present been carried on with the necessary delicacy and discretion.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

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* An Address given by Mr. Clark, missionary at Peshawur, which Login had forwarded to Sir C. Phipps.

To the first objection to his military scheme contained in this letter—viz., The appearance of promotion from the European to the native army—Login replies:—

That it was necessary that officers in native regiments should be conversant with the language, and have had training in a European corps; because they were good linguists, it did not follow that they were better military men than their fellows.

To the second objection, viz.,—That without some material advantage, in pay or otherwise, young men would not be induced to undergo the extra trouble, &c., he says:—

"According to the scheme, they receive one-fourth more pay, are able to live more economically, *but rise by seniority.*" In the European corps they would rise more rapidly by purchase. There would not be the rush for the staff corps that Sir Charles anticipated, owing to the early age at which the choice must be made, the slower promotion, and the extra examinations. After the period of probation, there would be a second examination for staff duties. Officers belonging to the military branch of the staff corps were to be eligible for adjutant-general, quartermaster-general, and surveyor's departments, guide corps, judge-advocate's department, commissariat, pay, audit, clothing departments, and military police; those of the civil branch for public works, political, revenue, and judicial departments; their pay to be one-fourth more than regimental officers of the native army.

With regard to the causes of the Mutiny, Login says:—

"From the confidence reposed in the fidelity of the Sepoys, the Government had allowed them to outnumber the European troops in undue proportion, had entrusted them with the protection of its arsenals and magazines, and instructed them carefully in all military duties. To attach them to our service, pensions had been granted to them on retirement from age or incapacity, and

to their widows and orphans, in the event of their death in the field. They were encouraged, more than any other class, to attach high importance to caste observances, pampered in all their prejudices by concessions of every kind, and enabled to make these prejudices profitable to them in many ways. They were carefully excluded from any instruction except through the drill-sergeant, and the slightest interference with their habits, or attempt to remove their ignorance and superstition, were viewed by the military authorities with the greatest distrust." The "greased cartridges" was only a rallying cry, which served for Hindoos and Mahomedans alike; the real causes of the Mutiny were the sense that the introduction of education, railways, and telegraphs into India, and the suppression of immoral practices, would interfere with their caste prejudices *in time*, so that they ought to make a stand *now*; while, on the other hand, "they considered their loyalty to be of the last importance to us, attributed most of the attentions on the part of Government to a consciousness of their power, and believed that we held dominion in India on their sufferance alone!" They also resented the enlistment of new recruits for general service, and of Sikhs and Punjabis; while the finishing stroke was the annexation of Oude, since, as long as Oude was under a native ruler, their families and homes (by special agreement with the British Government) were exempt from taxation, but this privilege ceased on the annexation of the country. These grievances were felt by the older Hindostani Sepoys, who were chiefly recruited in Oude, and, as they could not be taken up generally, nothing was said of them, and the cry of the "greased cartridges" served the purpose of the ringleaders most admirably, and enabled them, through the bigoted ignorance and superstition which, with so much infatuation, the Government had *fostered* in the native army, to get up an alarm for their religion and caste.

Login was of opinion that the elevation of the Great Mogul to his ancestral throne was due to the impetuosity of the Mahomedan mutineers of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut, and that it introduced an element into the future proceedings of the mutineers, which saved us from more extended defection, and gave us allies who might otherwise have been opposed to us. As to the ignorance of the English officers of the disaffection of their troops, it seems probable

that those who were best affected to their officers would be afraid to be seen by their more violent comrades communicating with them, and even the havildars, or native officers, whose *duty* it was to give in the usual reports, would be afraid to give more than a distant hint that "the men were greatly alarmed that the Government were going to make them Christians *by obliging them to bite greased cartridges*." This report would probably be received by the officer with a good-humoured laugh, and perhaps a quizzical joke on the occasion, which the havildar would *appear* to enjoy as much as any one, and then go away, quite satisfied in his own conscience that he had given as much warning as he could do without risk to himself, in this life or the next, leaving the Englishman to tell his brother officer, "What *spoons* these Sepoys were!" "I earnestly trust," says Login, "that as our present contest in India is for a higher purpose than merely the protection of our commerce and our territorial rule—for truth against error, Christian civilization against barbarism—the manner in which we conduct it, and the use we make of our victories, may rise with the occasion."

Sir Charles Phipps, in a long letter from Balmoral, dated September 2nd, 1857, discusses fully the subject-matter of the last memorandum, but want of space prevents more than a few quotations.

I have to thank you for your most interesting letter and enclosure of August 28th. It would be the height of foolish presumption, were I to attempt to argue upon Indian subjects with you; indeed my objections are more calculated to draw out from you rejoinders by which I may profit and obtain information than to be of themselves of any value. Writing from myself, and without consulting any better locally informed authority, I can found my opinions only upon general principles, and their local application must of course depend much upon Indian peculiarities. . . . . I see many practical difficulties in the *details* of your plan. I will put a case. Two officers enter the European Indian army at the same time; one is detached upon active duty, which leaves him no time for study of languages for several months; the other, re-

maining at a stationary quarter, has little to do and applies himself diligently to study the native languages. If they both intend to compete for the superior service, which alone leads to better emoluments and greater distinction, it is evident that the one who has been in his early service the most employed, and consequently the most useful, will, *cæteris paribus*, be always toiling in vain after him who was left in ease and inactivity. . . . . With regard to the staff corps, I quite think that the formation of such a corps is very desirable, and that you will find in it many materials, which, particularly in India, will be very useful. . . . . I await with anxiety your opinion on the last intelligence from India. I do not see what reason we have to expect any more favourable, nor do I understand any disappointment at Delhi not having fallen into the hands of that little army, which had long been waiting for reinforcements, which had not yet arrived. . . . . The real direction in which, as it appears to me, we must point our most anxious looks, is to the firmness and fidelity of the other two Presidencies, and one cannot but fear, as time passes on, that the temptations offered may be undermining their fidelity.

. . . . I fear that you will have cause to regret the wet day that has given me time to inflict such a letter upon you.

I have by the Queen's direction ordered a clock to be sent down, which Her Majesty would wish to be presented, from her, to the Maharajah, but I will write upon a different sheet.

Ever sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

In reply to Colonel Phipps' argument, stated as a hypothetical case of two young officers, one on active service, the other in cantonments, Sir John Login says:—

"I would by no means make proficiency in a critical knowledge of the languages a criterion of qualifications either for the native army or for the staff. A knowledge of the language required in a good officer of the native army is colloquial rather than literal, and the chances are that a young officer actively employed in

India on duty, even with European troops, will pick up the colloquial of the country quite as readily as another left in quarters; no one who is unable to do so, and to converse freely with the natives after two years' service in India, should, I think, be eligible either for the native army or staff corps. Higher qualifications in the language than this are not required in the first instance; but before an officer can be eligible for an adjutancy, certainly if not for the command of a native corps, he ought to be able, at least, to read easily, if not to write, the ordinary characters used in native correspondence among his men.

"No literary examination proves a good criterion of a cavalry officer, the hunting field affords the best training for *him*; but for officers of the quartermaster and surveyor-general and judge-advocate departments, the guide corps, commissariat, police, and civil branches, examination in the native language is essential. The adjutant-general's department should not be exclusively recruited from the staff corps, as good regimental officers are essential."

In explaining the position and powers of the Commander-in-Chief in India towards the civil government, with regard to the peculiar functions of the Adjutant-General, Login pointed out that it was incorrect to assume (as Colonel Phipps did) that the late troubles arose from insufficient powers being granted to the Commander-in-Chief, who was appointed by the Horse Guards; that that officer's remonstrances, and desire for reforms in the army, were entirely disregarded by the Governor-General and Council, so that they would not even allow him to inspect Sepoy regiments! This Login showed to be a misconception of the actual state of things, and to support his assertion, referred the question to Sir George Pollock, than whom no higher authority could be found on Indian military matters, and whose friendship and confidence he had enjoyed throughout his career. Sir George's reply is as follows:—

CLAPHAM COMMON, *Oct. 10th*, 1857.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Sir William Gomm applied to the Supreme Government for postheens and additional winter trousers for the European troops

serving at Peshawur; the Governor-General *in Council* did not see the necessity for this additional clothing for the Europeans, as they had already as much as is allowed in *England*, and declined to provide it. Under ordinary circumstances, such an application would not again have been urged, but Sir W. Gomm passed by the Governor-General, and wrote direct to the Horse Guards or the War Department, urging the necessity of the measure. The Horse Guards ought, at that time, to have known better; they might have consulted several persons who had been at Peshawur, who could have told them that snow *never* fell there; but no! red tape would not brook such a course. Whether the War Department was referred to, I cannot say, but I think it was; however, the Board of Control was written to, and from that quarter an authoritative letter was sent, requiring the consent of the Court of Directors, who—although they were aware of the absurdity of the request—complied.

Sir George also told the following anecdote to show that Commander-in-Chiefs were in the habit of inspecting native troops :—

The commanding officer of a Sikh regiment was exceedingly proud of the manner in which his men went through the bayonet exercise and other evolutions; and their perfect steadiness on parade attracted the admiration of every soldier who saw them. General Anson having visited the station on his tour of inspection, this regiment was paraded before him, but observing that, as is the custom among Sikhs and Punjabis, they wore long beards and moustaches, and tight, unshapely pantaloons, he turned away with the remark, "You call *these* soldiers—how very unmilitary! Look at their pantaloons and their buttons!" and went on to examine some other regiment.

Having been requested to state his views on the best form of Imperial Government for India, Sir John Login

drew up an elaborate scheme which contained, amongst others, the following suggestions:—

(1) That the Government of India at home be entrusted to a Cabinet Minister (preferably a Peer of the Realm, with some personal knowledge of India), assisted by a Council, of which he should be President, and as such be responsible to Parliament for their proceedings. (2) That there should be a Vice-President of the Council (under-Secretary of State), a member of the House of Commons, to be removed from office on change of Ministry. (3) That the Indian Council consist of twelve persons, of whom two-thirds be carefully selected by the Ministry for the time being, for their knowledge of Indian affairs, and the remaining one-third represent the commerce and manufactures of the country. (4) That those appointed by the Minister should be permanent, and placed in a position as independent as the judges; not allowed to hold seats in Parliament, or be directors of any commercial company; that the commercial members be appointed for five years by the Ministry, from lists submitted to them by the Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom and by the Board of Trade; no restrictions as to seats in Parliament to apply to these latter members. (5) That fixed salaries be allotted to the members of Council; that they be retired at a certain age with pension and honorary rank as members of Council; that the commercial members receive no pension. (6) That the rank of Honorary Member of Council may be conferred on all present directors of Honourable East India Company, on Governors-General, Commander-in-Chiefs and high officials, also on natives of rank and character who may visit England. (7) That two or more members be appointed direct from England to the Legislative Council at Calcutta. (8) That on the restoration of tranquillity in India, a proclamation should be made of the intention of Her Majesty to assume the administrative directly through Her Ministers, after a given date. (9) That members of the Legislative Council be selected from Madras and Bombay as well as Bengal.

The remainder of this scheme dealt chiefly with details of the constitution and powers of the proposed Council for India at home,

and the Legislative Council in India, and of the authority of the first over the second, also with the extent to which the Minister had power to act if opposed to the majority of his Council. It also suggested that an annual statement of Indian affairs be made in both Houses of Parliaments by the responsible Ministers at an early period of the Session, and an annual report be issued in the Blue Book and laid before Parliament, of the "moral and material progress" of India; furthermore, that the utmost latitude be allowed to the Viceroy and his Council, and that the duties of the Minister and Council in England be limited to foreign policy, military arrangements, assimilation of laws and institutions to the spirit of English civilization, as far as local circumstances render expedient, control of the judicial, financial and revenue systems, encouragement of commerce and extension of free trade.

"You will not be surprised," remarks Colonel Phipps, in his voluminous reply dated Balmoral, Sept. 14th, 1857, "that I hesitated and took time to consider before I attempted to enter upon a subject which you have evidently considered so deeply and understand so well as that of the transfer of the supreme power in India from the Directors of the East India Company to the Crown. It is a subject upon which I still feel myself utterly unequal to give an opinion of any value." . . . . . Further on he says:—"It appears to me that your opinion as to the time most fitted for any change to take place is well grounded. For some time to come, until the fermentation caused by this revolt has subsided, the Government of India must be in an exceptional state, and the new system of rule will grow better out of such a system of transition than from any other more normal state."

On September 28th he writes:—

In answering your letter and accompanying paper of the 24th inst., I must begin by thanking you for the free and unrestrained manner in which you have entered upon the different subjects. Without such sincerity, a correspondence such as ours would be a

mere waste of time, for wherever there was a different opinion between us, we should not know whether we were combating with the substance, or only a veiled shadow. . . . . Havelock has done very well; his promotion to the rank of major-general has gone out to him. . . . . I have confined this letter to the *military* portion of your papers, and you will think that I have given you a pretty sufficient budget for one post! I have never kept copies of *my* letters, and I should be very much obliged to you if you would either let me have the originals to take copies or have copies taken for me—not for their own value, but because *your letters lose some of their value* without those to which they are an answer. . . . .

*Sept. 29th.* Since writing the enclosed I have read the telegram from India. How unsatisfactory!—the same story—creeping progress of the revolt—not a step in advance! Havelock's retreat is most unfortunate, and creates the worst fears for Lucknow, when one considers the daily consumption of men that must be going on, and that no reinforcements of importance can be expected for a month from this time,—it makes one tremble!

## III.

## BHYROWAL TREATY, 1846.

*Articles of Agreement concluded between the* BRITISH GOVERNMENT *and the* LAHORE DURBAR, *on Dec. 16th*, 1846.

Whereas the Lahore Durbar and the principal Chiefs and Sirdars of the State have in express terms communicated to the British Government their anxious desire that the Governor-General should give his aid and assistance to maintain the administration of the Lahore State, during the minority of Maharajah Duleep Singh, and have declared this measure to be indispensable for the maintenance of the Government: And, whereas the Governor-General has, under certain conditions, consented to give the aid and assistance solicited; the following Articles of Agree-

ment, in modification of the Articles of Agreement executed at Lahore on the 11th of March last, have been concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Montgomery Lawrence, C.B., Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honourable Viscount Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General; and, on the part of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh, by Sirdar Taj Singh, Sirdar Shere Singh, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Nooroodeen, Rae Kishen Chund, Sirdar Runjore Singh Mujeetheea, Sirdar Shumshere Singh, Sirdar Lal Singh Morareea, Sirdar Kher Singh Sindhanwala, Sirdar Urjun Singh Rungnungaleea, acting with the unanimous consent and concurrence of the Chiefs and Sirdars of the State assembled at Lahore.

Article I.—All and every part of the Treaty of Peace between the British Government and the State of Lahore, bearing date the 9th day of March, 1846, except in so far as it may be temporarily modified in respect to Clause 15 of the said Treaty by this engagement, shall remain binding upon the two Governments.

Article II.—A British officer, with an efficient establishment of assistants, shall be appointed by the Governor-General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State.

Article III.—Every attention shall be paid, in conducting the administration, to the feelings of the people, to preserving the national institutions and customs, and to maintain the just rights of all classes.

Article IV.—Changes in the mode and details of administration shall not be made, except when found necessary for effecting the objects set forth in the foregoing clause, and for securing the just dues of the Lahore Government. These details shall be conducted by native officers, as at present, who shall be appointed and superintended by a Council of Regency, composed of leading Chiefs and Sirdars, acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident.

Article V.—The following persons shall, in the first instance,

constitute the Council of Regency—viz., Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Shere Singh Attarewala, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Nooroodeen, Sirdar Runjore Singh Majeetheea, Bhaee Nidham Singh, Sirdar Utter Singh Kaleewala, Sirdar Shumshere Singh Sindhanwala; and no change shall be made in the persons thus nominated without the consent of the British Resident, acting under the orders of the Governor-General.

Article VI.—The administration of the country shall be conducted by this Council of Regency in such manner as may be determined on by themselves, in consultation with the British Resident, who shall have full authority to direct and control the duties of every department.

Article VII.—A British force of such strength and numbers, and in such positions as the Governor-General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharajah and the preservation of the peace of the country.

Article VIII.—The Governor-General shall be at liberty to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government for the security of the capital, or for maintaining the peace of the country.

Article IX.—The Lahore State shall pay to the British Government twenty-two lakhs of new Nanuk Shahee rupees, of full tale and weight per annum, for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government; such sum to be paid by two instalments, or thirteen lakhs and 20,000 in May or June, and eight lakhs and 80,000 in November or December of each year.

Article X.—Inasmuch as it is fitting that Her Highness, the Maharanee, the mother of Maharajah Duleep Singh, should have a proper provision made for the maintenance of herself and dependents, the sum of one lakh and 50,000 rupees shall be set apart annually for that purpose, and shall be at Her Highness's disposal.

Article XI.—The provisions of this engagement shall have effect

during the minority of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh, and shall cease and terminate on His Highness attaining the full age of sixteen years, or on the 4th of September of the year 1854, but it shall be competent to the Governor-General to cause the arrangement to cease at any period prior to the coming of age of His Highness, at which the Governor-General and the Lahore Durbar may be satisfied that the interposition of the British Government is no longer necessary for maintaining the Government of His Highness the Maharajah.

This Agreement, consisting of eleven Articles, was settled and executed at Lahore by the Officers and Chiefs and Sirdars abovenamed, on the 16th day of December, 1846.

F. CURRIE.
H. M. LAWRENCE.

TEJ SINGH.
SHERE SINGH.
DEWAN DEENA NATH.
FAKEER NOOROODEEN.
RAE KISHEN CHUND.
RUNJORE SINGH.
UTTER SINGH.
BHAEE NIDHAM SINGH.
SIRDAR KHAN SINGH.
SHUMSHERE SINGH.
LAL SINGH MORAREEA.
KHER SINGH.
URJUN SINGH.

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